University of Alberta

PHOTOGRAPHING PAULINE JOHNSON:
PUBLICITY PORTRAITS OF A CANADIAN 'HALF BLOOD' IDENTITY

By

FLORENCE IDA ENNS ©

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ABSTRACT

Pauline Johnson - famous Anglo-Mohawk poet, performer and writer - deliberately employed carefully chosen photographic publicity portraits to establish key elements of her public identity. Her middle-class studio portraits contravened 'Indian' stereotypes and provided alternative images of an active, contemporary native woman. But Johnson also re-appropriated an 'Indian princess' stereotype, transforming it through her written words and live performances into a powerful, assertive manifestation of her own Mohawk heritage. Visually identified as Edwardian lady and as 'Indian,' Johnson's portraits transgressed racist boundaries intended to separate and isolate 'white' from native. Moreover, through this dual imagery, she both visually expressed her own mixed racial heritage and simultaneously supplied a positive and viable substitute to offensive and deprecating stereotypes of 'half-breeds.' Using her publicity photographs, Johnson visualized a new Canadian 'half-blood' identity.

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90 *Seneca Woman.* c. Late 19th century. Buffalo, New York. Reproduced in W. G. Spittal, *Iroquois Women: An Anthology* (Ohsweken, Ontario: Iroquois Publishing and Craft Supplies for IROQRAFTS, 1996), 3.

91 *American Haudenosaunee women.* c. 1890s to turn of the century. Reproduced in Spittal, *Iroquois Women*, 233.

92 *"Tuscarora Squaws – Luna Island – Niagara."* 1865. Stereoscopic card. Reproduced in Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 257.

93 *Johnson's multiple images*. "Miss E. Pauline Johnson, The Indian Poet Reciter." *The Globe*. September 23, 1893. McMaster University, Pauline Johnson Archive, Series 9, Box 6.

CONCLUSION:

94 *Page of actor portraits from a London theatre program.* c. 1906.

95 *Page of actress portraits from London theatre program.* c. 1906.

London theatre program at McMaster University, Pauline Johnson Archive, Series 10, Box 6.

96 *Johnson with either a wig, or her own short hair growing out after her 1901 illness.* c. 1901-1903. Reproduced in Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*,171.

97 *Large lithograph advertising performance at Steinway Hall.* 16 July 1906. London. McMaster University, Pauline Johnson Archive, Series 11, Box 11.

98 *"Miss E. Pauline Johnson-Tekahionwake: The Mohawk Author-Entertainer."* Advertising poster. c. 1906-1909. Trent University Archives 89-013 /1/15.

99 *"Tekahionwake" with red blanket and holding a large wampum belt.* Inscribed to Johnson's last performing partner, Walter McRaye. Photograph c. 1906-1909. Card mounted photograph. Unidentified - may have been torn from a book or be a private photograph. McMaster University, Pauline Johnson Archive, Series 11, Box 11.

100 *"Minnehaha" - red-tunic Indian maiden.* Print. c. 1920s. At "Minnehaha," *Ruby Lane Collectibles*, http://www.rubylane.com/shops/hedrickmainst/item/m432; accessed 26 Jan. 2004.

101 Cover of *Buckskin and Broadcloth: A Celebration of E. Pauline Johnson – Tekahionwake* by Sheila Johnston. Native-style portrait, c. 1902. Portrait in evening wear, c. 1893.

102 *Website banner for the online site "The Pauline Johnson Archive."* 1996. McMaster University, *The Pauline Johnson Archive,* available from the McMaster University Faculty of Humanities, http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~pjohnson/mock.html; accessed 17 April 2000.

103 *Full cover of 'Pale as Real Ladies: Poems for Pauline Johnson.'* Joan Crate, *Pale as Real Ladies: Poems for Pauline Johnson* (London, Ont.: Brick Books, 1991), cover.

104 George Littlechild. *"Coup Stick Marks for Pauline."* 1996. Original photograph c. 1893. Reproduced on the cover of Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*.

INTRODUCTION

What happens when one is confronted by a stereotype – not outside of oneself, but inside? This was the situation in which I found myself in December of 1999. I was browsing between stacks at an Edmonton public library when the cover of *The Beaver*, a prominent Canadian history magazine, caught my eye. The photograph of a beautiful woman in an elegant Edwardian ball gown was intriguing but the title identifying her as "Pauline Johnson: *Mohawk Princess*," jarred me (fig. 1). Her upswept curly hair, creamy skin, light eyes and elegant turn-of-the-century style did not match my expectations of a nineteenth-century native Canadian woman. The striking juxtaposition of headline and image had just exposed my own assumptions - showing me the unspoken vision in my mind that I considered Indian. Johnson's image exposed me to a whole other possibility. Her Edwardian image made me consider, "Were there other images like it?" "Had other natives had such images made?" And, if they had – "what did that mean about native people's lifestyles?" Finally, why hadn't I seen such images before, and what would such images do to the carefully constructed box labelled 'Indian' that I had just recognized in my own mind?

I wanted to discover who Johnson was. The *Beaver* article highlighted some of her life and history. Born in 1861, the daughter of an English Quaker and a hereditary Mohawk chieftain, Johnson grew up on the Grand River reserve in southern Ontario in the mansion that her father built for her mother. She wrote poetry for most of her life but only began to perform it publicly in 1892 (at the age of thirty-one) after her dramatic presentation of her poem 'A Cry from an Indian Wife' at a Canadian Literature Evening in Toronto catapulted her to fame. For the next 16 years, she lived the most extraordinary lifestyle for a middle-class woman at the turn of the century, criss-crossing the country nineteen times and traveling to the United States and England to give public recitations of her writing. A famous poet, Johnson was also a publicly recognized figure who presented before almost every segment of Canadian society. From the East Coast through the Northwest Territories (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta) to the West Coast - she performed in metropolitan centers, farming communities, fishing villages and mining towns. She wrote multiple articles, and had four books published before her death in 1913, another two posthumously.[1] In a recent book review called "Rediscovering Pauline," Paul Gessel highlights both her wide-ranging popularity and her ability to communicate with diverse groups of people:

> This exotic half-Indian, half-white diva was adored by rich and poor alike as she traveled across Canada in an outrageous get-up, using poetry, monologues, one-woman plays, humour and her feminine charms to entertain, spread some culture, champion some causes and instill a sense of nationalism in the peoples of the newly created Dominion. It didn't hurt that she was fiercely nationalistic... and equally at home taking tea with Lady Laurier or cracking jokes with what [Charlotte Gray] describes as '5,000 men and 126 prostitutes' in small, rough-hewn, B.C. mining communities.[2]

The first time I read her poetry I was shocked, delighted and intrigued. Johnson used words, strong words, to address native issues. For example, in the aftermath of the Riel Rebellion, she got up and performed 'A Cry from an

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[1] For the most up-to-date and detailed listing of all of Johnson's writing – poetry and prose – see the chronological listing in Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 219-236.

[2] Paul Gessell, "Rediscovering Pauline," *Edmonton Journal,* 24 Sept. 2000, E12. Charlotte Gray is the most recent biographer of Johnson. Her work, *Flint and Feather: The Life and Times of E. Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake* was published in fall of 2002.

Indian Wife,' expressing the thoughts of a native woman as her husband leaves to fight against the Canadian government:

> ...They but forget we Indians owned the land
> From ocean unto ocean; that they stand
> Upon a soil that centuries agone
> Was our sole kingdom and our right alone.
> They never think how they would feel today,
> If some great nation came from far away,
> Wresting their country from their hapless braves,
> Giving what they gave us--but wars and graves...[3]

In these and many other pieces Johnson challenged preconceived stereotypes of Euro-Canadian supremacy and righteousness, using words that her most recent biographer Charlotte Gray says "still make the hairs on the back of a reader's neck prickle."[4] I discovered that Johnson was one of the first aboriginal writers to critique authors for stereotyping native people by presenting a single pan-Indian culture.[5] She did this in one article that stood out for me in particular - *A Strong Race Opinion: On the Indian Girl in Fiction.* Here Johnson directly critiqued the written stereotype of native women, a stock characterization she labelled the 'regulation Indian maiden.'

But when I began investigating Johnson's photographic portraits I discovered a paradox - a woman fighting stereotypes, and simultaneously, a woman willing to perform in the guise of one. The most common portraits on

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[3] E. Pauline Johnson, "A Cry from an Indian Wife." Johnson used dual voices in the poem, also considering the perspective of non-native mothers and wives as they sent off their men. See Appendix 1 for the full text .

[4] Charlotte Gray. *Flint and Feather: The Life and Times of E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake* (Toronto: Harper Flamingo Canada, 2002), 399.

[5] McMaster University, "E. Pauline Johnson: Native Identity," *The Pauline Johnson Archive,* www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/~pjohnson.native.html; accessed 17 April 2000.

Johnson's promotional materials portrayed her as a stereotypical Indian maiden. A 1906 English publicity poster shows her with long, flowing hair, buckskin fringes, fur pelts, and native jewellery (fig. 2). The dress appears 'Indian' but is neither Mohawk nor representative of any tribe. Instead the costume is partially based on an illustration of the popular literary Indian princess, Minnehaha.[6] Like nineteenth-century photographers and artists who dressed aboriginals in 'Indian style,' Johnson was 'dressing in feathers.' She was presenting a pan-Indian identity in her publicity photographs and live performances. Why would a woman attacking stereotypes choose to present herself as one? Moreover, what effect did this have on her critical voice? What happens when the person outside of the box, determinedly steps back into it?

Johnson's portraiture must be examined in the context of the nineteenth-century revolution of people's viewing habits. With its 'true to life' quality, speed of reproduction and affordable cost, the photograph created a new visual culture. People collected portraits, art, scenic and travel images - for albums, for decoration and for entertainment.[7] The degree and speed with which the new imagery affected nineteenth-century cultures was unparalleled. And photographs had an impact on a very personal level, as individuals and key moments could be permanently recorded for the first time.

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[6] Described in the epic poem *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855) by Longfellow, Minnehaha was a literary character – the wife of the fictionalized warrior Hiawatha. The Johnson family had an illustration of Minnehaha and Johnson's sister later described how Pauline used this image as a basis for the costume's creation. Sheila M. F. Johnston, *Buckskin & Broadcloth: A Celebration of E. Pauline Johnson – Tekahionwake 1861-1913* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 1997), 113.

[7] An extremely popular pastime was gathering to view photographs through a stereoscope. The company who made stereoscopes claimed that there was one in almost every home. "The Milestones," *Life Anniversary Issue: 150 Years of Photography: Pictures That Made a Difference*, Fall 1988, 27.

The Johnson family shared the enthusiasm for photography. Johnson's parents had their daguerreotype made as early as 1853, probably to commemorate their marriage (fig. 3). In it, Johnson's father, George Henry Martin Johnson, a hereditary Mohawk chief of the Iroquois confederacy sits with his arm around his bride, Emily Susanna Howells, an English Quaker whose family had immigrated to the United States. This image confirms a marriage that combined cultures and races despite the protest and rejection of some family members on both sides.[8] While both wear Euro-Canadian clothing (George in a militia/reserve uniform), they also retain cultural attributes with native ethnicity. George wears a centre-fleche about his waist while Emily holds a tomahawk peace pipe treasured by the Johnson family.

People were beginning to be photographed from birth to death and in the Johnson home the studio portrait became a family recorder. Figure Four shows the three oldest children, Henry Beverly, Helen Charlotte Eliza (known as Eva when a girl and Evelyn later on), and Allan Wawanosh at an early age, probably prior to Pauline's birth. That images like these served to 'freeze' or commemorate a memory of the children at various ages is evident from the inscriptions on the backs of the photographs. For example, on an individual portrait of Allen from the 1860s is written the date, his name, and "five years & four months" with his mother's initials underneath. While the parents commissioned these images, a family tradition of having portraits taken (particularly for special events) became a regular practice. In the Johnson family, their mother's birthday was a prime stimulus for visits to the studio by her children. Three portraits from the 1870s were probably initiated by the young adults themselves (figs 5 a, b & c). Henry and Evelyn's images both have a handwritten inscription on the back: "To Mama, from her affectionate son," and "To Mama from her affectionate daughter" with the words, "a birthday present." Allan's 1878 image and numerous others like it, reflect an ongoing pattern that lasted over twenty years when, as mature adults, they continued to send portraits home to their mother.

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[8] The marriage was accepted by some members of Emily's family but rejected by others, notably her brother-in-law Roger Vashon, a minister who Emily hoped would marry them. The match was initially rejected by George's family in part because of it brought to an end the matrilineal chiefly line in his family that had remained unbroken for approximately 600 years. The couple was reconciled with his family after the birth of their first child, Henry Beverly.

Johnson's experience with studio portraits began at an early age. Her first known portrait was taken in 1864 (fig. 6). It is a fairly typical middle-class image of a young child. Johnson wears a dark dress, smart boots, and a cross necklace. While the arm resting on the chair is clear, the softness of focus across her shoulders and other arm, suggest that it was difficult for the three-year-old to remain completely still for a several second exposure. Like those of her siblings, this and other early portraits were clearly commemorative images made for her parents.[9]

While the little girl of three stood facing the camera directly, Johnson quickly learned to present a more sophisticated and unselfconscious approach. Images of her at age eleven, as an adolescent, and as a young adult in her mid-twenties show her developing comfort, confidence and elegant style in front of the camera (fig.'s 7 a, b & c). That this was not just the function of the photographer is evident when multiple images of the various siblings (taken at the same studio) are compared. Over and over again, an interesting pattern recurs. Johnson and her brother Henry Beverly present themselves with a very elegant body language that reflects a distinct sense of what is fashionable. As Anne Maxwell points out in *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions*, "These images of 'native' subjects do not confront the camera's gaze directly in the manner that European viewers associated with the criminal, the insane, the poor and the colonized, but adopt 'the cultivated asymmetries of aristocratic pose' characteristic of the bourgeois portrait."[10] Of the two other siblings, Evelyn tends to present herself in a much more straightforward manner, and Allan usually seems a little awkward, even when putting his body in an stylish pose. While most visible in individual portraits this contrast is evident in an image of the four siblings together (fig. 8). Pauline, sitting on the far left in a ¾ angle pose, maintains an upright posture but leans in towards the others, her skirt sweeping sideways, her face in profile. Evelyn, on the other side of the image, is in almost the same pose, but her forward-turned face, with hands overlaid in the opposite direction from Johnson's, combined with turned legs and an unevenly hanging skirt, appears stiff and uncomfortable. [11] Behind her is Allan, whose forward-jutting head and gaping jacket detracts somewhat from his elegant pose. Beside him Henry Beverly reiterates his sophisticated ‘man about town’ image – a look that appears in almost all of his photographs. This ability to appear unaffected in front of the camera is important because readings of images are strongly inflected by the viewer’s sense of the sitter’s effortless comfort and ease.

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[9] Also like her siblings, Johnson continued to have portraits made when she was an adult, both as gifts for others and for herself.

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[10] Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' People and the Making of European Identities*. (London & New York: Leicester University Press,1999), 198.

[11] Evelyn, for one, did not like herself in photographs, and refused to let Pauline share this image because of how she appeared. Johnson finally grew frustrated and cut Evelyn's face out so that she could show the image to her friends. Evelyn continued to dislike being photographed and there are few photographs of her until much later in life. At that point she began to present a more sophisticated style to the camera, facilitated in part by pose and in part by more fashionable dress.

Part of the reading of style and effortlessness in portraits is related to an awareness (on the part of the viewer and of the sitter) of what is fashionable both in styles of body language as well as dress. Throughout their lifetime, Pauline and Henry Beverly’s portraits show extremely well made, well-tailored, fashionable clothing. From varying accounts in Evelyn’s memoirs, it appears that Pauline was a clotheshorse, and (from his photographs) it appears that so was Henry Beverly. Their choice of dress indicated “their awareness that the body, appropriately attired and arrayed according to the latest dictates of fashion, was a powerful signifier of cultural and class identity…”.[12] But their comfort with physical fashion extended beyond their clothes to a comfort with the presentation of their entire bodies as fashionable objects. Their awareness of fashion also extended into the realm of particular types of photographic imagery that were in vogue.[13] Pauline, for example, was photographed numerous times in a popular form of faux winter imagery, complete with artificial snow and painted winter backdrops (figs. 9 a & b).

While the Johnson family collected images as memories, they also took part in the fashionable exchange of portraits. Their family album contained

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[12] Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography*, 198.
[13] This practice could have been adopted from their father who at one point travelled to Montreal so he could have his portrait taken by the most fashionable nineteenth-century Canadian portrait photographer of the day, William Notman. Charlotte Gray, *Flint and Feather*, 61.

"(b)ewhiskered gentlemen, frock-coated bishops, haughty women in full-skirted gowns" staring out from multiple *cartes-de-visite* (photographic calling cards).[14] *Cartes-de-visite* became tremendously popular in the 1860s and the archives of the Johnson family include *cartes* and cabinet cards (the larger form which replaced the *carte* in the late 1860s) of friends, acquaintances, dignitaries and extended family. Evelyn's memoirs describe this pattern of exchanging portraits. When their father George travelled with his team to Toronto to introduce the sport of lacrosse, General Stisted (the Governor-General of Upper Canada) and his two daughters each gave him photographs of themselves.[15] When visiting Troy, New York in the United States, the Mayor presented George with a photo of himself.[16] An image of himself in native costume that George gave to a friend was eventually passed on to Prince Bismarck, who sent back a large photo of himself with a few words and his autograph on the back.[17] As a young woman Pauline also shared photographs of herself, evidenced by one of her as an eighteen-year-old inscribed on the back "Pauline to Bertie."[18]

Multiple photographs in the archives of the Johnson family confirm that native individuals also exchanged studio portraits.[19] There are images of friends (fellow Mohawk Jake Louis), of extended family (an uncle, another aunt with her children) and also of individuals connected through George's official position as government interpreter to the Council of Iroquois chiefs on the Grand River reserve. These include a studio portrait of two Chippewa men (in what appears to be full ceremonial dress with their names written in Ojibwa on the back) and other photographs of notable native leaders such as Peter Jones and William Jacobs (a Six Nations man who brought Handsome Lake's religious message to the reserve in 1881 and 1882). Portrait collections were often placed prominently throughout Victorian homes, another practice of the Johnsons. Chiefswood curator, Paula Whitlow, points out that "the artwork (123 pieces) literally covered the walls of Chiefswood."[20] Photographs are not even included in this estimate. While there appears to be no extant image of the interior of Chiefswood, a photograph of what is probably the later residence in Brantford, show some of the family's large portrait collection on tables, mantelpieces and walls.[21]

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[14] Charlotte Gray, *Flint and Feather*, 64.
[15] Evelyn Johnson, Dorothy Keen and Martha McKeon, "George Henry Martin Johnson," *Chiefswood* (unpublished memoirs, Ontario Archives), 9.
[16] Ibid.,12.
[17] Ibid., 7.
[18] This image must have eventually been returned to Johnson for she then gave it to her mother who wrote on the back, "I like this Pauline dear it is a grave likeness but I think good. Thanks. Mother 1883".
[19] Most of these are in the Royal Ontario Museum's collection.

The Victorian interest in the collection of images – of friends, of family but also of the famous, was part of the Johnson family experience. The selection of photographs in family files, the descriptions in Evelyn's memoirs, more images and later descriptions in Pauline's own files, and finally images of a room amply decorated with some of these photographs – suggest the wide-ranging nature of this practice in the Johnson family. That the photographic portrait played an important role in the Johnson home is indicated not just by its interpersonal use between members of the family, but by the way images of friends and notable acquaintances were collected and exhibited in their private spaces.

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[20] Paula Whitlow, e-mail to author, 3 Oct. 2001.

[21] These photographs fill multiple boxes in the archives at the Woodland Cultural Center. They are part of the Chiefswood Collection, which contains materials from the Johnson family home, Chiefswood. There are several different images of this Victorian room decorated with recognizable portraits from the Chiefswood collection. A close examination of the style and location of the windows reveals, however, that the room itself was not in Chiefswood. It may be the Johnsons' later Brantford home on Napoleon Street or, since Henry Beverly appears in several (dressed in a gymnast costume with juggling pins in his hands), it could possibly be of his apartment in Hamilton or Montreal.

These practices stand in direct contrast to the way that natives have been perceived historically. The studio portraits do not fit the stereotypes of feathers and paint that many photographers were portraying in nineteenth-century Canada where native Canadians were often represented ethnographically no matter what their lifestyle was like.[22] Aboriginals who normally wore European-style clothing were frequently 'dressed up' in native costume to be photographed so that an 'Indian look' could be maximized for the camera. The emphasis was on native dress, racial aspects of physiognomy and culturally-identifiable props such as peace pipes, beaded or quilled objects and blankets. This deliberate "dressing in feathers" was, A. R. Ramamurthy argues:

> integrally linked to colonial and economic exploitation. A sense of submission, exoticism and the 'primitive' were key feelings, which [19th century] photographers documented and catalogued. Through these images, the European photographer and viewer could perceive their own superiority. Europe was defined as 'the norm' upon which all other cultures should be judged. That which was different was disempowered by its very 'Otherness'.[23]

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[22] Excluding private portraits commissioned by middle-class natives, there were two possible exceptions to purely ethnographic imagery. The first included photographs of native chiefs. These images followed the Western portrait tradition of the 'great man.' Arguably, however, through their emphasis on clothing and cultural elements, they had an ethnographic style that denoted the sitter as 'Indian.' A second form of photography could be called 'conversion' images. These were 'before' and 'after' photographs taken of natives who entered a school or religious institution. The 'before' photo would show the individual in native dress with other cultural attributes of ethnicity. The 'after' image would show them in European-style dress after they had spent a period of time at the institution. These were a kind of cultural/racial makeover, but regardless of whether they were created by religious groups or government organizations, such images were meant to show the native individual's assimilation into Euro-Canadian society and, as such, focused on visual identifiers of ethnicity and culture.

[23] Anandi Ramamurthy, "Constructions of Illusion: Photography and Commodity Culture," in *Photography: A Critical Introduction,* ed. Liz Wells (London & New York: Routledge, 1997),171.

But these images also created a "fictitious sense of 'reality' in which contemporary American Indians found little reflection of their daily lives."[24] Native peoples had been commissioning photographic portraits for themselves since the earliest days of photography. Like this sophisticated image of Hiram Johnson (a relative of Pauline's), such portraits were usually equitable in style and presentation to those of non-natives (fig. 10). Yet as privately commissioned portraits they were largely unobserved by a larger Canadian public. In popular media the acculturated native individual remained unseen.

Johnson's initial author portraits revealed this unnoticed image with a picture that contradicted Indian stereotypes. Viewing her first public photograph from 1890, the words 'conservative,' 'middle-class' or 'modest' come to mind (fig. 11). But Johnson's public identity quickly developed further facets in terms of role, gender and race. In 1891, viewers were confronted with a different vision of her, athletic, active and outgoing. By 1893, 'laughing,' 'playful,' 'dramatic' and 'successful' were excellent descriptive words for the new stage performer but so were 'passionate,' 'picturesque' and 'princess'. For in 1893 Johnson first appeared in portraits wearing self-constructed Indian garb. Fascinatingly, she was using portraits to both contradict and inhabit 'Indian' stereotypes.

Media-savvy performers used diverse types of imagery that usually fit into one of three categories: the actor as celebrity, the actor on-stage performing and the actor 'in-character.' Johnson used all three. Her desire to be an actress was life-long although "she never saw a theatre until she was 17."[25] As a young woman she attended performances in Hamilton and Toronto and acquired friends like the English comedienne Rosina Vokes and American actress Belle Archer.[26] In 1886 "a large photograph of Mille Rhea [a well-known Belgian actress]... was a central ornament of her pretty little parlor."[27] With advice from her performing friends Johnson got involved in amateur theatre in Brantford and successfully played leading roles in local productions.[28] But she was denied the professional stage by her mother's concerns for social propriety.

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[24] Jeffrey Steele, "Reduced to Images: American Indians in Nineteenth-Century Advertising," in *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture,* ed. Elisabeth S. Bird (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), 48.

When Johnson eventually began a recital career (on the more respectable lyceum stage) her publicity photographs were clearly influenced by theatrical portraiture. As a public entertainer she used eye-catching portraits on her advertising (figs. 12). But, like many twentieth-century celebrities, her public identity was determined by her visual appearance in multiple contexts. Her portraits (or drawings from them) appeared as author images accompanying her own written pieces (figs. 13 a-c), in articles about her (figs. 14 a & b), as illustrations on her own letterhead (fig. 15) and as give-away photographs for fans. The young woman who had placed portraits of well-known performers in her own parlour was by mid-career adorning others' private spaces.

Because of the close ties between Johnson's photographic and on-stage identities I have chosen to format the thesis to mirror the structure of her own recitals where Euro-Canadian and native aspects of identity were performed separately. To reflect the relative chronology of her visual representation and to highlight the flexibility of her images I have reversed (as she sometimes did) the more typical order of her on-stage performances. Thus, her middle-class portraiture is examined in Chapter 1, *From True Woman to 'Natural Laughing Girl' and English Lady: Pauline Johnson's Presentation of New Images for a Native Woman,* and her aboriginal presentation in Chapter 2, *Deregulating the 'Indian Maiden' Through Performance: Pauline Johnson's Re-Presentation of the 'Indian Princess' Stereotype.* With both types of photographs Johnson was articulating a complex sense of identity that complemented her spoken and written words. But in the racist environment of late-nineteenth century Canada, what was truly unique about Johnson's visual presentation was its public duality. Therefore, in Chapter 3, *'White Race and Red are One': Demonstrating a Canadian 'Half Blood' Identity with Photographs,* I will address the combination of both types.

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[25] "Fine Entertainment," *The Saginaw Courier-Herald,* 11 October 1896.
[26] Hector Charlesworth, *Candid Chronicles* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1925), 100.
[27] Garth Grafton a.k.a. Sara Jeannette Duncan, "Woman's World," *Globe*, Oct. 1886.
[28] One reviewer remembered her performance as Blanche in a performance of 'Ours' stating that, "memory...furnishes the fact that the young lady's acting was the feature of that performance." "Poems Read by the Author," unidentified newspaper, undated clipping.

For vocabulary I have used the term 'Indian' only in places to indicate or represent historical stereotypes of native peoples - or in direct quotations by others. I have also attempted to adjure the use of terms like 'white,' 'half-breed,' and 'mixed-blood' except to represent similar attitudes. Correspondingly, I have found the continual use of the term 'Euro-Canadian' a problematic one as it unites all non-native groups together in a way that obscures the difficulties and prejudices faced by many different groups. Subsequently I have used along with it the terms 'bourgeois', 'colonial' or 'middle class culture' to represent an attitude and positioning that dominated and dictated to other classes and to non-English speaking immigrants.

For myself, the revelation of an internal Indian stereotype was the first step to thinking and seeing in new ways. Exposing stereotypes – these 'simplified,' 'generalized' and 'inflexible' mental images – is imperative because it is the "lack of conscious awareness on the part of the users" that gives them such power.[29] As Anne Maxwell says in *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' People and the Making of European Identities*:

> Without a knowledge of the way in which such popular representations of non-western peoples contributed to the formation of European identities, people of European descent cannot begin to imagine – let alone contribute to fashioning – a world in which the ideology of white supremacy no longer informs dominant culture.[30]

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[29] Klaus Lubbers, *Born for the Shade: Stereotypes of the Native American in United States Literature and the Visual Arts, 1776-1894* (Amsterdam: Rodopi,1994), 15.

[30] Maxwell, *Colonial Photography*, ix.

"The earliest act of resistance for most Native women is to recognize and then challenge negative stereotypes."

Kim Anderson
Cree/Metis.
2000

Chapter One

FROM TRUE WOMAN TO ‘NATURAL LAUGHING GIRL’ AND ENGLISH LADY:

Pauline Johnson’s Presentation of New Images of a Native Woman

Pauline Johnson's Euro-Canadian publicity portraits conveyed significant elements of her identity and life experiences in the 1890s. From 1890 to 1898 her image evolved, adapting to changes in her social role, personal interests and an ever-increasing understanding of viewer's expectations. Her representation did not follow a straight line but at each stage reflected individuality, whether it was in a subtly subversive reference to athleticism and her native heritage in her earliest public portrait, the activism of a 'natural, laughing girl,' or the confidence of a celebrity. How did Johnson create her public image? She was not a photographer and could not control the technical and artistic elements of her portraits. Yet as a knowledgeable visual reader of her own culture, Johnson chose expressions, postures, dress, and individual images (from a particular sitting or the body of her portraiture) that communicated specific messages – messages challenging Indian stereotypes by bringing into public view new images of a native woman.

The first photograph of Johnson used in a significant literary site was for J.E. Wetherell's 1893 anthology *Later Canadian Poems* (fig. 16). A vital aspect in analysing her portrait in this location is the gender-biased nature of the book. Placed in a supplement at the back, the work of women poets was included only because of Johnson's intervention[1] and the physical layout of the text reinforces gender divisions. The order and presentation of the section for women is distinctly different from the men's. Each of the seven men has their own segment of the book with a variety of poems, ranging from seven for William Wilfred

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[1] Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson – Tekahionwake* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 119.

Campbell to seventeen for Charles George Douglas Roberts. Fronting the individual sections for each male poet (see, for example, figures 17 and 18) is a photographic portrait with their name below, again on the opposite page and each following right-hand page. In contrast, the women's supplement contains a total of sixteen poems intermixing the work of six poets. Author's names are only included at the end of individual poems.[2] There is a single portrait in the supplement – the photograph of Johnson on the first page.

In this gendered presentation the singular style of Johnson's portrait appears to restate the separation between the two sections. In framing, pose and expression her photograph is distinctly different from the men's. Johnson's is the only three-quarter-length portrait among head-and-shoulder images; a view that allows readers to more fully survey her clothing. Her gown is modest, attractive and extremely fashionable; high-necked, with a lace collar at the top and voluminous sleeves. Yet in an intellectual setting Johnson's fashionability contributes to prejudiced gender associations. The men, while they are adorned in varying colors, styles and fabrics retain the same basic form of dress - the suit. Stripped of extra adornment (lace, ribbons, beading, embroidery, or vibrant colors) the suit carries authoritative associations with business and power and observers of the time (from social scientists like Darwin to comic magazines) judged the disparity between elaborate female styles and men's relatively plain dress as examples of "the sexes' respective levels of social evolution, with males being at a higher level."[3] Women's interest in changing fashions was not seen as a complex positioning of gender, class and status but as "an acceptable expression of women's lesser powers of intellect and concentration" - a detrimental connotation for Johnson's image in a literary environment.[4] Contributing to an adverse impression are Johnson's pose and facial expression, which are integrally linked to the message the photograph transmits. The animated tilt of her head and smiling look combined with crossed arms evokes a playful mood, an unusual presentation, for middle-class portraits of women were usually unsmiling and formal in effect. The light-hearted result seems particularly unfortunate in an already-gendered text where male poets' expressions convey solemnity or serious intent. The difference between Johnson's image and the men's, in its visible fashionability and playfulness, suggests girlishness; femininity as opposed to masculinity and middle-class respectability as opposed to sublime genius.[5] The portrait could reiterate a stereotype held by many (obviously including the editor) that 'feminine' poetry was less serious, less meaningful and ultimately less worthy of consideration.

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[2] The number of poems ranges from one apiece to the maximum of five, which are Johnson's.

But why would Johnson choose this photograph? Was she a poor visual reader of her culture? Could the image, in fact, be read in another way? The previous year the same photograph appeared in *The Ladies Pictorial Weekly* and through a 'poetic' interpretation highlighted Johnson's literary ability.[6] "The striking attitude, the artistic gown, the face full of thought and feeling, the beautiful tender eyes and sensitive mouth, combine into a handsome picture. A painter's brush is only needed to bring out the clear dark skin, the masses of black hair, and the deep grey of the eyes."[7] The author, Madge Robertson, clearly believed that "the personality of the young poetess shines through her face".[8]

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[3] Joanne B. Eicher and Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins, "Definition and Classification of Dress: Implications for Analysis of Gender Roles," in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning,* eds. Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher (New York & Oxford: St. Martins Press, 1992), 9. Fashion, seen as the domain of women was a marker of status and femininity but "When specific differences in color, structure, surface design, volume, or texture distinguish dress of males and females, differences in social rank and power can be made obvious." Ibid., 20.

[4] Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky,1990),155.

[5] The adjective 'sublime,' originally used to describe landscapes, carried the idea of surpassing or overwhelming greatness. When applied to people's abilities, it was seen as a particularly male characteristic.

Physiognomy, closely associated with the new science of anthropology, focused on facial features and head/body forms as an external demonstration of psychological and moral types.[9] Robertson's description is inflected by her knowledge that Johnson is a poet and she makes direct links between Johnson's appearance and her abilities. Thus, her gown is 'artistic,' her eyes are 'tender' and her mouth 'sensitive' – all indicators of a poetic sensibility. Her pose, with its combination of playfulness and an intent forward gaze (melding the serious with the light-hearted) is deemed a 'striking attitude.' Even the vivid language employed by Robertson evokes an artistic milieu as she suggests using a painter's brush to add colour. Johnson's image, read physiognomically through the lens of poet/artist, is seen here as a positive evocation of her literary aptitude.

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[6] Aspects of this article appeared in at least one other location. In the *Richmond Hill Liberal* an arts notice describing Johnson as an Indian Poet Reciter (appearing in a benefit concert) included the biographical excerpt and photograph from the *Ladies Pictorial Weekly.* "Miss Pauline Johnson,' *Richmond Hill Liberal*, 1892, page unknown. Clipping from McMaster Archives.

[7] Johnson's hair was brown, not black and her complexion varied with the perception of the viewer (from white to dark) although Johnson considered it to be olive. It is clear from the context of the article that the author knew Johnson and so this description of her attributes is probably based on Robertson's expectation of native ethnicity (a common problem Johnson faced). Madge Robertson, "Prominent Canadian Women: No. 5. Miss Pauline Johnson," *The Ladies Pictorial Weekly*, c. 1892, 259.

[8] Ibid.

[9] The conviction that character could be read in the countenance permeated nineteenth-century culture. Photography, in particular, was used as a tool to visually preserve and analyze physiognomy. James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: University of Chicago Press,1997), 146-148.

Johnson probably commissioned the portrait for publicity purposes in February or March of 1892 shortly after her famous performance at the Canadian Literature Evening in January brought her public acclaim.[10] Photographed by J. Fraser Bryce of Toronto, Johnson had seven other portraits she could have chosen from this particular sitting: two images of her head - one in profile (fig. 19a) and one face forward (fig. 19b); three head-and-shoulder photographs, including two different profile images (figs. 19 c & d) and one frontal image (fig. 19e); two ¾ length photographs, one in profile with her arms raised and hands clasped at chest height (fig. 19f) and another image with her face forward, body at a slight angle, arms relaxed and hands clasped in front of her abdomen (fig. 19g). Johnson comprehended, and had previously used, customary-style author photographs to accompany her writing. Why did she not select from these proofs, a more standard bust-type portrait? Her chosen photograph (except for figure

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[10] The original Canadian Literature Evening was organized by friend and fellow Brantford citizen, Frank Yeigh. He organized a second performance at Association Hall in February to capitalize on her new public fame and then booked her for a tour of recitals. This was the beginning of Johnson's performance career. My 1892 date for Johnson's portrait contradicts previous dating. Sheila Johnston in *Buckskin and Broadcloth* dates this portrait to 1881 but she appears to have taken this date from Walter MacRaye's book *Pauline Johnson and Her Friends.* MacRaye, Johnson's most important touring partner, was often inaccurate about specific details, however. Johnson's clothing completely precludes this date as the style of sleeve on her dress did not appear until the 1890's. After careful consideration of several factors I have come to the conclusion that Johnson commissioned this image for her new publicity in 1892. Prior to and including her February 1892 publicity for Association Hall, Johnson used different author portraits. This photograph only appears after her two initial public recitals. With a new recital career beginning, and considering Johnson's desire to always appear up-to-date, her choice of a Toronto photographer (she had previously been photographed by local Brantford studios) and a dress in fashionable 1892 style, make 1892 the most logical date.

19f) was the only one that diverged from typical studio set-poses. And the pose, when combined with her relaxed, almost smiling expression created an overall effect completely lacking in all the other portraits – an informal picture of a good-humoured young woman.

This image corresponded with an alternative vision of acculturated native women that Johnson wrote about the previous year. Only four and a half months after her compelling recitation of "A Cry from An Indian Wife" (at the 1892 Canadian Literature Evening) Johnson used her now dramatically-prominent native ethnicity to respond to offensive representations of aboriginal women. Her article, "A Strong Race Opinion: On the Indian Girl in Modern Fiction" was published on the front page of the *Sunday Globe* May 22, 1892, and was accurately titled. Johnson took a strong critical stance, publicly challenging the unrelenting sameness of native female characters, a stereotype she termed the 'regulation Indian maiden.'[11] She attacked their perennially pan-Indian identity, their non-tribal specificity, their brute-like natures, their questionable virtue and their inevitable doom, concluding that these literary inventions were "all fawn eyed, unnatural, unmaidenly idiots and… are merely imaginary make-shifts to help out romances…".[12] As an antidote to the repugnant stereotype, Johnson wanted to provide a prototype for new views of native women.[13] In place of the Indian maiden she recommended something revolutionary: that authors portray a new kind of native woman based on real individuals and specific knowledge about their people groups.[14]

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[11] Johnson critiqued specific works such as *Tecumseh, Wacousta* and *An Algonquin Maiden*. Beth Brant states it well, "She tore apart popular white writers such as Charles Mair and Helen Hunt Jackson for their depictions of native women as subservient, foolish-in-love, suicidal 'squaws.'" Beth Brant, *Writing as Witness: Essay and Talk* (Toronto: Women's Press,1994), 7. Johnson's article is "now recognized as a prescient assault on the prevailing stereotype of the Indian maiden in nineteenth-century Canadian fiction." Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*,163.

[12] Pauline Johnson, "A Strong Race Opinion: On the Indian Girl in Fiction," *Sunday Globe,* 22 May 1892, 1. See Appendix 2 for the full text of this article as it appeared in the *Globe*.

Using politically significant language, Johnson evoked two contemporary images - the True Woman and New Woman. She proposed that "the Indian girl of fiction develop... into something of the quiet, sweet womanly woman she is, if wild, or the everyday, natural, laughing girl she is, if cultivated and educated".[15] In the contested grounds of nineteenth-century gender representation "quiet, sweet womanly woman" or "everyday, natural, laughing girl"[16] were culturally loaded terms signifying different role models. At a time of enormous change, including shifting populations, social stratifications and mores, a nineteenth century ideal of womanhood (often dubbed the True Woman) frequently described as 'womanly,' 'sweet,' 'quiet,' 'loyal' or 'feminine,' was gradually being replaced by a more modern conception, the 'New Woman.'[17] Unlike her predecessor, the New Woman was independent in thought and action. Among the possible symptoms of her progressive nature (whether viewed positively or negatively) were her interest in employment, education, athletics, dress reform and suffrage. In dynamic opposition to the monotonous and rigid Indian maiden stereotype, Johnson's words advocated the True Woman and New Woman as contemporary paradigms. Moreover, her written ideas appear founded in her self-portrayal for she had already visually exploited both symbols of femininity for her publicity.

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[13] Johnson was frustrated and disgusted by some of the common representations of native women. As one of the participants in the Canadian Literature Evening she met G. Mercer Adam (one of the 'Grand Old Men' of Canadian literature) and vigorously questioned him about his research for the novel *The Algonquin Maiden*. In a letter to W.D. Lighthall she later wrote, "I made him confess that he had never met an Indian Girl and knew nothing about them. The extraordinary things he made 'The Algonquin Maiden' do are astounding." Charlotte Gray, *Flint and Feather: The Life and Times of E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake* (Toronto: Harper Flamingo Canada, 2002), 150.

[14] Johnson knew that "such things are rare, half of our authors who write up Indian stuff have never been on an Indian reserve in their lives, have never met a "real live" Redman, have never even read Parkman, Schoolcraft or Catten; what wonder that their conception of a people they are ignorant of, save by hearsay, is dwarfed, erroneous and delusive." Pauline Johnson, "A Strong Race Opinion," 1.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Johnson's use of the term 'natural' was part of a reclaiming of femininity that idealised a more informal, hence 'natural' and 'everyday,' appearance and lifestyle choices. Detractors of the New Woman had declared them 'unnatural' and 'unwomanly.' Part of the language by which these early feminists fought back was to try to 'naturalize' a new view of health, beauty and lifestyle.

Johnson constructed a True Woman image with her first author portrait, published April 1890, in the Toronto *Globe* (fig. 11). Wearing a high-necked dress, with an even higher collar, the head-and-shoulders portrait presented a genteel and modest picture. Viewed in profile, Johnson appears to be a 'surveyed female' who could be safely observed but could not look back.[18] With her native heritage stated in the first paragraph of the accompanying article, her portrait of refined middle-class femininity countered the 'regulation Indian maiden.'[19] Penetrating all layers of nineteenth-century visual culture - from high art to advertising, from dime novels to the theatre and in photography, from the ethnographic (fig.20a) to the sentimental (fig.20b) - the Indian maiden was everywhere. In hair, dress and presentation, comparing Johnson's True Woman image to examples of the Indian maiden exposes the underlying expectations of the stereotype and Johnson's refutation of it. Johnson's hair, coiffed in a bun at the back of her head is fashionable and respectable and presents her as modest and contemporary. Unlike standards of purity for white femininity, the Indian maiden's long black hair was worn loose and flowing or in braids – hairstyles with erotic connotations in Victorian/Edwardian culture.[20] Johnson's gown (with fashionable pleats and ruched trimming) also denoted civilization in comparison to the so-called 'primitive' forms of dress and adornment (buckskin, blankets, beads and feathers) worn by the Indian maiden. As a prominent social theorist argued in 1877, humans entered "the first social level of savagery naked, the first level of barbarism in skin garments" and finally arrived at "civilization in woven garments."[21] These attributes of the maiden were signifiers for a deep and ingrained prejudice that saw natives as representative of "the primal childhood of human evolution."[22] Johnson's True Woman image – contemporary and respectable - contradicted the primitive and promiscuous aspects of the stereotype. It also depicted an unseen reality (for non-natives) of native women's lifestyles.

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[17] The term 'womanly' was particularly contested because femininity was now being partially redefined according to attributes previously seen as masculine (trousers, the vote, athletics). The term 'New Woman' only appeared in 1894 but was merely the latest label in a series. Other terms intended to describe this social phenomenon included Girton Girls, 'wild women,' 'advanced women,' and the 'revolting daughters.' The image of this new type of woman began to appear in the 1870's in Britain and the 1880s in the United States. Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers*,10.

[18] Since Laura Mulvey's groundbreaking work "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" in 1975 much constructive exploration has exposed the power of the gaze as a gendered tool used to reinforce social, political and sexual agendas.

[19] Titled "A Clever Canadian," the column describing Johnson was taken from *The Twentieth Century Review.*

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[20] Mature women (over 16 years old) were only supposed to take down their hair in the privacy of their own bedroom. As Charlotte Yonge wrote in 1877, "The associations of the loose, unkempt locks…are not those of pure and dignified maidens or matrons…Certain fashions…scarcely are consistent with the dainty niceness of true woman hood." Quoted in Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985),119.

[21] L. H. Morgan's view of human evolution in his 1877 *Ancient Society*. Described by Eicher and Roach-Higgins, "Definition and Classification of Dress," 25.

[22] John F. Moffit and Santiago Sebastian, *O Brave New People: The European Invention of the American Indian* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 7.

Since the earliest days of photography native people had been commissioning images. Mohawk Floretta Maracle's portrait of 1887 shares the same middle-class features as Johnson's and is indistinguishable in style and sophistication from non-native studio images (fig. 21).[23] Derived from aristocratic painted portraiture, the studio portrait had always been an emblematic image of class status and here a typical backdrop (with curtain and decorative moulding) recreates an upper-class environment - a 'cultured' setting at odds with the 'nature' background against which 'Indians' were characteristically pictured.[24] Maracle's props (instead of peace pipes, blankets, beaded or quilled objects) are books, symbols of literacy and the intellect. Her image is but one example of the contemporary cultural use of middle class portraiture by native Canadians.[25] They also collected, exhibited, shared, exchanged and displayed photographs, using them as family memories, mementoes of friends and as business contacts. The bourgeois associations attached to these social practices challenged class, race and cultural assumptions, particularly the dichotomy of 'civilized and primitive.' In public imagery, however, those who "had adopted western dress and manners, had become largely invisible" and would remain so - their privately commissioned images unobserved by the larger population.[26]

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[23] Floretta Maracle was a schoolteacher, one of a family of six orphans from Ohsweken, who were brought to the Grand River Reserve and trained at the Mohawk Institute (an early residential school). Many years later she married Johnson's brother, Allan.

[24] In 'Indian' photographs, native individuals were usually placed in front of forest or nature backdrops, which was particularly ironic if they were urbanites. Some photographers, like Hannah and Richard Maynard of Victoria, British Columbia, actually transposed images made of natives sitting on the floor of their studio to other photographs, placing the disconnected figures on beaches or in front of deserted Haida villages.

[25] Archives and family albums across North America include similar studio portraits. Unfortunately, they often remain unidentified in public collections because they are indistinguishable from other nineteenth-century studio images. In family collections, they may be viewed negatively because of associations with assimilation. See in particular Jaune Quick-to-See Smith's article "Family Album" for an evocative reaction by a family descendant. There are some scholars who use studio images and treat them quite neutrally. Sylvia Van Kirk in "Tracing the Fortunes of the Five Founding Families of Victoria" uses images partially in visual assessment of various stages of acculturation and cultural associations made within families. Anne Maxwell, in *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' People and the Making of European Identities* briefly highlights some of the positive use and the difficulty of the trope of the bourgeois studio portrait. She also analyzes in more depth its particular use by the Hawaiian Royal Family. Margaret Blackman in "Posing the American Indian" considers not just what the original images were intended for but also their value today and she examines a variety of different native responses to being photographed. Alfred Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell in *The Photograph and the American Indian* address the constructed nature of the image with some excellent questions. However, while they focus on the agency of the photographer they exclude the agency of the native sitters.

Johnson's commercial use of studio portraiture brought this private image of aboriginals into the public view.[27] Her choice of a True Woman image, in its "piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity"[28] was the ideal antithesis to prevailing stereotypes of native women and a strategic choice for her first important author portrait. She utilised it in at least two other significant sites: in an 1891 article for her local newspaper the *Brantford Expositor* and for the image of poet on the advertisement for her first solo performance at Association Hall (fig. 22).[29] The image accurately described her role (up till 1892) as a respectable stay-at-home daughter. One of the key motivations for her True Woman representation came from the model True Woman in Johnson's life, Emily Howells Johnson.[30] In a fictionalized biography entitled *My Mother,* Johnson created a clear, if sentimental image, of her mother as True Woman.[31] She was portrayed with typical attributes and 'feminine' accomplishments for a True Woman and the picture Johnson painted was of a sweet, dutiful, "home-loving little English wife" who never sought public attention.[32] While proud of her daughter's ability and success Emily was also uncomfortable with public display. As such, Pauline's use of True Woman imagery, particularly at the beginning of her publicity, in the local newspaper and for her first advertisement of a live performance were probably influenced by her mother's discomfort. For the discerning viewer, however, a small visual clue (the snowshoe brooch at Johnson's throat) subtly reinforced her native ethnicity and discretely implied that the prudent image of the True Woman was concealing a more radical image of a sports-oriented New Woman.[33]

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[26] Jeffrey Steele, "Reduced to Images: American Indians in Nineteenth-Century Advertising," in *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*, ed. Elisabeth S. Bird (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), 48. People could view the portraits in studio picture books but unless there was a particular marker of native ethnicity the portraits would not have been identified as 'Indian.'

[27] Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, point out that in the early stages of her writing career (1883 to 1889) "Johnson probably blended into the Anglo-centric mainstream of English-language Canadian literature.", 101. But in 1889, the biographical notes in W.D. Lighthall's anthology, *Songs of the Great Dominion*, clearly identified Johnson's native heritage, and the column from *The Twentieth Century Review,* included with this True Woman portrait in the 1890 *Globe* began with a description of her birth on the Grand River reserve and of Johnson's Mohawk chief father.

[28] Terms by historian Barbara Welter. Quoted in Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 20.

[29] An illustration from this photograph was also used in an 1891 American Press Association article, "The Daughters of Canada: Six Dominion Ladies Well Known in the United States."

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[30] An English-born Quaker whose family had immigrated to the United States, Emily Howells came to the Grand River Reserve in the 1840s with her sister Eliza who was married to the Anglican missionary, Adam Elliot. The most dramatic act of Howell's life was her marriage to George Johnson. The lack of cultural prejudice in this choice (which contradicts the otherwise conservative and Anglo-centered culture to which Emily belonged) may be attributed to a variety of factors in her life. Key elements include her family's Quaker values (her father was an active abolitionist who assisted runaway slaves), the attitude of her sister and sister's husband, who treated George Johnson like a son, and her long-time friendship with Johnson himself (whom Pauline presented in her fictionalized family story "My Mother," as attractive, confident and with the bearing, manners and attitude of an English gentleman).

[31] Originally a serialized short story written for *Mother's Magazine,* this work was intended to be inspirational and was written in the conventional vein of the 'angel in the house.'

[32] Pauline Johnson, "My Mother," *The Moccasin Maker,* ed. Lavonne Brown Ruoff (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,1998), 74. Like Johnson's choice of imagery for the unacculturated native woman, the True Woman emphasis could partially have been protective; a safe way to present her mother against prejudice for marrying a native man. Material from other family members (particularly her sister Evelyn's memoirs) indicate that the True Woman image was also probably a self-identifying image for Emily and fit the view her family and friends had of her.

[33] Thank you to Anne Lambert for pointing out this important detail in the image.

In 1891, in two different publications, drawings based on a photograph of Johnson presented her as an athletic New Woman (fig. 23).[34] In July the *Weekly Detroit Free Press* created an illustration from the image and titled it merely, 'A Fair Canoeist' (fig. 24a). But in the April edition of *The Young Canadian* the caption made it clear that this was an image of the author taking part in her favourite sport. The written description of Johnson who, "Rain or shine, you will see… out with nature, walking, driving, snowshoeing, paddling,"[35] inscribes a new type of femininity (fig 24b). The outdoors, associated with an exterior life – with nature rather than the domestic - were part of the vigorous modern roles that characterized the New Woman. After all, the "young woman who was physically active appeared to state her bodily and mental freedom through the clothes she wore and the poses she struck."[36] Johnson's energetic posture, with paddle aloft, highlights both the dynamic sport at which she excelled and her reform dress. The rolled up sleeves, casual and informal, emphasize her physical activity.[37] Combining images with words, Johnson visually defines a New Woman paradigm

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[34] With the increasing use of images in the written media came a demand for authors to provide illustrations with their writing. Letters in Johnson's files include such requests. In all likelihood, Johnson commissioned this image for use with her canoeing articles and poems. Johnson had other casual canoeing portraits taken with friends, but despite its outdoor location, this photograph appears similar to formal studio portraits in its technical and aesthetic accomplishment, suggesting the skill of a professional photographer. Even in an active pose, Johnson remains in focus and a careful composition (including the diagonal line of the canoe, the branch as a framing device at the top of the image and the use of foreground, middle ground and background to give a sense of depth and perspective) gives the image visual strength.

[35] Untitled, *The Young Canadian,* 22 Apr. 1891, 199.

[36] Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 85.

[37] In Johnson's sport-themed articles she encouraged readers to choose athletic-appropriate dress, reiterating its femininity. In this photograph the soft folds in her shirt display a waist that may be un-constricted by a corset. Strong-Boag and Gerson assert, "On paper…she was nothing less than a clothing reformer." *Paddling Her Own Canoe,* 84.

- athletic femininity as attractive and desirable.[38] Dressed in contemporary Euro-Canadian canoeing costume, Johnson appears part of a nineteenth century enthusiasm for canoeing that was often divorced (except through romantic association with Indians of the past) from its native origins.[39] Yet, with her native heritage once again highlighted by the text, a clear connection links her native ethnicity with a modern image of femininity.[40]

Johnson's ease of movement between True Woman and New Woman symbolizes the transitional nature of women's gender roles at the time.[41] Carolyn Kitch's analysis of the 1897 *Ladies Home Journal* shows an interchange similar to Johnson's in six illustrations by the American artist Alice Barber Stephens. Three of the images depict aspects of the traditional True Woman image within the home (figs. 25 a-c), while three portray a New Woman independence in external settings, in business, in society and out-of doors (figs. 25 d-f).[42] Kitch argues that, "Collectively the six pictures portrayed a woman whose 'place' in American life was changing, though through a gradual rather than radical transformation, an integration of old and new images and roles."[43] It is significant to note that once Johnson embarked on her new performance career early in 1892 and began to move out of her mother's sphere of influence, she immediately focused on New Woman imagery. One of her first acts was to commission publicity photographs from J. Fraser Bryce of Toronto. She was well aware of the conventions of author imagery from previous experience and could have used one of the True Women images from her 1892 Toronto sitting (figs. 19 a-f). She did not. Instead she chose the portrait that most distinctly depicted her as 'New Woman' (fig. 16). Like the girls in Alice Barber Stephens at-home image, these women of a new generation might be True Women at home but "they could become New Women if they left home."[44]

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[38] The early 1890s was a transitional period in the representation of women and athletics. In the previous two decades, sports had been socially linked with suffrage. But in the 1890s there was a shift in the degree, not just of acceptance for women's physical activity, but also a growing desirability with regards to its status and to fitness. Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women*, 88. For more discussion see Banta, 85-91, Kitch, *Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 31 & 53, and Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs and Bloomers*, 172-203.

[39] While natives were looked to as the original source of the sport and might act as guides or teachers, in many ways canoeing had become an appropriated sport. Non-native customs, clothing, canoe manufacture, canoeing clubs and even articles written about it were dominated by Euro-Canadian views and practices.

[40] Strong-Boag and Gerson state she "combined reminiscence of ancient origins with the right-up-to-date provocation of the New Woman in her sporting guise." *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 81.

[41] Carolyn Kitch suggests, "This transition had to do not only with gender roles but also with the social and economic aspirations of a growing American middle class." *Girl on the Magazine Cover*,18.

[42] All of these images are very cultural and 'white' in their presentation - the same milieu as Johnson's True Woman and New Woman portraits. Her native ethnicity might have been described by the text but her visual images were utterly contemporary and Euro-Canadian in style.

Appropriately, four years later, Johnson submitted the same New Woman portrait for inclusion with Thomas O'Hagan's *Catholic World* article. It communicates with the new language of imagery being used by other female Canadian authors (fig. 26).[45] On the same page, Helen Gregory–Flesher's dramatic attack on traditional gender roles complements Johnson's modern image of publicly playful femininity. With cap and gown (signs of an educated persona), Flesher in an insouciant slouch with head posed upon a thinker's arm imitates a sublime image of genius (the man of letters) to which women were not admitted. Some of the portraits were more ambiguous and, read individually, might appear as True Women but as Kitch argues about Stephens' illustrations, "ideological messages emerged less from the figures of individual women than from the entire setting." Here individual images were subverted to a revisionist public message of women's literary abilities.[46]

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[43] Ibid. The contradictions of the two roles, their contrast and yet their overlap was a manifestation of the uneasy, and at times ambivalent, nature of the relationship; not just between the two constructs but in peoples' external and internal struggles with the social changes that were occurring.

[44] Kitch, *Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 26.

[45] Johnson's portrait appears on a page with photographs of four other Canadian writers. This album-like page of multiple images is repeated throughout the article resulting in images of twenty-nine women over sixteen pages. O'Hagan gives a brief description of the oeuvres of 30 authors. He describes Johnson as "Perhaps the best-known woman writer to-day in Canada" with a "true genius for verse" and "the most original voice heard today in the groves of Canadian song." Thomas O'Hagan, "Some Canadian Women Writers," *Catholic World*, September 1896, 792.

Read in light of Johnson's social agenda and feminist representation, the image in Wetherell's text takes on new meaning - a meaning visible to contemporary viewers. The publicly informal photograph spoke the visual language of a New Woman. Moreover, as symbol of a public career it verified her New Woman identity. Despite the gender barriers of the text, Johnson was being featured in an anthology intended to present the height of Canadian literary culture.[47] The inclusion of her portrait (the only female so featured) visualised a woman functioning in an intellectual sphere usually reserved for men. Her literary career was made physically visible. To be positioned here, she had to be active, successful and erudite - a radical vision for a woman, particularly a native woman. Ultimately, the conjunction of the image and the striking words she had written the year before would not have escaped the notice of many readers.[48]

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[46] Kitch, *Girl on the Magazine Cover*,19.

[47] At the time poetry was seen as the greatest of the literary arts. Wetherell organized this particular anthology because he thought that a previous one compiled by W.D. Lighthall had "too much trash." Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*,119,

[48] For those who did miss the conjunction, the poem "As Red Men Die" located next to the image was a clear signifier of her ethnicity. The poem was based on a story which Johnson's grandfather, John Smoke Johnson told her when she was a little girl. Wetherell chose the only native poem of Johnson's included submissions (the other four were nature poems) to face her image. Was Wetherell himself taking part in a revisionist image of native women or was he simply intrigued by the seeming exoticism of Johnson's race and abilities? This is a question impossible

The convergence of Johnson's chosen portrait and her publicly stated description of an 'everyday, natural, laughing girl' cannot be considered a coincidence. Her portrait complemented her activist words. It provided a literal example (a 'real live' model) of what she was writing about. Raised by a class-conscious mother, Johnson was certainly 'cultivated,' her manners and social style scrupulous. But part of Johnson's charm for others was her temperament, her "bright and pleasing manner," her "winsome, warm-heartedness" and a "vivacity of tone and gesture" that seemed natural, laughing, even mischievous.[49] Thus, the image Johnson chose was political but also personal and self-descriptive – her own image of herself as a contemporary woman of native heritage.

But did Johnson's New Woman conform to a different Indian stereotype – the 'cultivated Indian'? The much talked-about solution to the 'Indian problem,' the cultivated Indian was rarely seen in public images. The best way to catch a glimpse of the stereotype was in images of the 'civilizing' process intended to create it. Made visible in this before-and-after set of photographs of Saskatchewan native Thomas Moore from 1896, the cultivated Indian required the expunging of customary accoutrements of native cultures (figs. 27 a & b). The cutting of Moore's hair, the exchange of native dress for a European suit,

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to answer. What is important is that "As Red Men Die," in its violent glorification of a Mohawk chief's unwavering death, presents a striking contrast of passion, primitiveness and violence to the cultivated and playful image of Johnson. The seeming disparity between photograph and poem demonstrates the variability of native peoples and their experiences.

[49] Three-Step, "Pauline Johnson Receives Friends," *The Telegram*, 6 June 1901, 6. "Pauline Johnson," *The Mail and Empire*, 19 September. Garth Grafton a.k.a. Sara Jeannette Duncan, "Woman's World" *Globe*, Oct. 1886. One British reviewer described Johnson as "a sweet-voiced, merry-faced woman, with any amount of vivacity and 'go'". "From Wigwam to Concert Platform," *The Daily Mirror*, 1906.

even the substitution of a conventional studio background for furs, were visual markers of the attempt to replace native languages, faiths and socio-political systems with imperial culture. While the second 'civilized' portrait appears to contrast with a primitive Indian stereotype it reflected the belief that native people could only become contemporary Canadians by the complete erasure of their heritage and ethnicity - a perception denying the real-life variation and adaptation of aboriginal groups.

Even within individual tribes, native groups' experiences of contact and acculturation were diverse. As Johnson argued about the Grand River reserve,

> Their domestic life cannot be generalized: some are well off, owning brick houses, large barns, machinery, and cattle. In one part ....one may encounter Brussels carpets, pianos, sewing-machines, and lace window-drapery; in another a mud floor, a kettle hung on a tripod....[50]

Contemporary photographs capture the economic and cultural diversity Johnson described, a diversity not confined to one reserve or area of the country (figs. 28 a & b). Mourning Dove, a Salishan woman from British Columbia/Washington, wrote about a traditional childhood living semi-nomadically but she also described "the father of a family living below us...[who] bought a beautiful surrey with a flat top, double-seated rig, and fringed canopy for his wife and educated daughter to ride to church. Emily dressed in the latest fashions, with 'mutton-chop' sleeves and dresses of pale blue China silk."[51] In 1895 Johnson wrote about a new female generation on the Grand River Reserve. 'Miss Iroquois,' as

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[50] Pauline Johnson, "The Iroquois of the Grand River," *Harper's Weekly,* 23 June 1894, 587-9.

[51] Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography*, ed. Jay Miller (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1990),185.

Johnson entitled her, appeared "altogether like the daughter of one of Ontario's prosperous farmers."[52] If you were to see her she was "most likely arrayed …in a very becoming stiff gown made in modern style. She wears gloves, and a straw hat, decorated with bright ribbon and a few pretty flowers."[53] Not just well dressed, the women Johnson discussed were modern women with jobs and careers. Like Johnson herself, their mothers might have been True Women but they were New Women.[54]

While the 'cultivated Indian' appears to describe acculturated aboriginals, in its colonial prejudice it negated their adaptivity and agency. As the term implied, the 'cultivated Indian' was not viewed as self-actualized but as the deliberate product of 'white' culture. Yet, if any one attribute described the New Woman it was the idea that she would activate change. The modernity and activism of Johnson's New Native Woman, therefore, disputed the cultivated Indian. It defied a paternalistic view of native women as requiring 'cultivation' and depicted the agency of "the Iroquois woman of to-day…who recognizes the responsibilities of her position, and who makes serious and earnest efforts to possess and master whatever advantages may drift her way."[55] Despite the gender limitations of Wetherell's text, Johnson's portrait of a New Native Woman successfully presented an innovative construct of an aboriginal woman in a key cultural location.

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[52] Pauline Johnson, "The Iroquois Women of Canada," *The Brantford Expositor,* 8 Oct. 1895.
[53] Ibid.
[54] In the article, Johnson once again used a True Woman description for an earlier generation, the mothers of 'Miss Iroquois,' and a New Woman, career-oriented description for the women of her own generation.
[55] Pauline Johnson, "The Iroquois Women of Canada".

In 1893 Johnson's representation was already complex but influenced by the new performance aspect of her career, her portraiture was about to alter and progressively complicate her public persona. A theatre-inspired style first appeared in several portraits (the circled images) in a 'Pauline Johnson collage' of photographs in the 1893 Toronto *Globe* (fig. 29).[56] Her clothing and expression signalled changes from a literary framework to a theatrical one, as did the text describing "the popular Mohawk Indian poet reciter, Miss E. Pauline Johnson of Brantford, in a number of her platform representations."[57]

Johnson had decided to "make a feature of costuming" for the recitals of her 1892 winter tour.[58] From that time onwards, she often presented her readings in two parts: wearing native dress for her poems about aboriginal life and evening gowns for her nature and 'society' poems.[59] With their trains, headdresses and fashionable particulars (elaborate velvet detailing on the one and the stylish opera coat worn over the other), the two ensembles in the circled images differ from the less-formal daywear of her previous True Woman or New Native Woman images. Her live performances also began to influence the level of her public expressiveness. A combination of elements - pose, expression, angle of the head - had created the impression of a smiling girl in Johnson's revisionist New Woman image. But Johnson's expression was really "a certain mobility of the features" that conveyed cheerfulness without an actual smile.[60] Now, in the center image Johnson smiled over her shoulder, and in the upper center image, broke into a grin. These were atypical expressions for formal studio portraits and smiling images such as these usually appeared only on the commercial cards of actresses.[61] Johnson's explicit portrayal of a 'laughing girl' betokens experience from her new theatrical career where expression was crucial to presentation. Here is the burgeoning star of the lyceum stage. Smiling, confident, optimistic, the facial expressions appear to complete the 'natural, laughing girl' but combined with evening dress they are transitional portraits locating where Johnson's New Native Woman representation transforms into that of celebrity.

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[56] These photographs were taken by C.S. Cochran, a local Brantford studio.

[57] "Miss E. Pauline Johnson," *Globe*, 23 Sept. 1893.

[58] Written in a letter to W.D. Whitehall. Included in Strong Boag & Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*,110.

[59] Johnson did not always present both images. Sometimes, lacking time, she presented only one image reciting just one, or both, types of poetry.

These early celebrity images were soon replaced with a more sophisticated and astute picture of fame for a woman in a difficult profession. Johnson had always wanted to be an actress but because of its social questionability, her mother vetoed it. And so, as one interviewer put it, "as the next best thing [she] took up her present work on the lyceum stage."[62] In Canada, many of the important poets lectured on the lyceum circuit and it provided Johnson with a more acceptable literary forum in which to earn a living on-stage. But changes in its format following the U.S. Civil War meant that "the aim of lyceums [became] to entertain as well as to educate" and they "began to attract singers, dancers, impersonators, magicians, and animal performances."[63] Presentation, like acting, was a vocation of public display that raised questions about a woman's morality. Since lyceum circuits used whatever performance space was available this meant that Johnson was also reciting on the same contested theatre stages used by actresses.[64] To counter threats to her reputation, Johnson used a strategy in her photographs that she used on stage and in person: she presented the image of a 'lady.'[65]

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[60] Charles Bell, from *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting*. In Audrey Linkman, *The Victorians: Photographic Portraits* (London & New York: Tauris Parke Books, 1993), 43.

[61] Articles in the photographers' trade press described what the best expressions were and how to obtain just the right expression. "Following conventions honoured in painting, photographers usually elected to portray, and sitters usually felt it appropriate to assume, a quiet, serious and dignified expression." Ibid.

[62] "An Indian Girl Who Writes Poetry." *The Cleveland World*, undated. The lyceum movement was started by Josiah Holbrook in the 1820s and was intended to provide educational lectures to the public. Their popularity spread and lyceum bureaus developed to hire and book presenters. Many prominent writers and thinkers performed on the lyceum stage including Susan B. Anthony, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Mark Twain. Jeffrey Scott Maxwell, "The Lyceum Movement," *The Complete Chautauquan*, http://members.aol.com/AlphaChautauquan/lyceum.html; accessed 24 August 2002.

Although photographed in 1897, the portrait that appeared over a century later on the cover of *The Beaver* magazine is still an iconic image of celebrity (fig. 30). Richly dressed and stylishly coiffed, Johnson appears elegant, confident and feminine. Utilized in the interior of an 1898 four-page publicity flyer, the portrait blends femininity, fashion, beauty and class to project the image of a star and successfully evokes an aristocratic lifestyle because it shares striking similarities in attitude, sophistication, expression and costume to upper class portraits.[66] Johnson's demeanour has shifted from the accessible smiling/laughing looks of the 1893 *Globe* to a sober expression intended to convey self-control, respectability and good breeding.[67] The suppression of emotion contrasts with her previous representation but is judicious in this context. Johnson is not appearing in a literary or journalistic location as a writer but as a performer in a contested site for women. Magnetism, charm, fascination (all terms in the coded language of the day for erotic aspects of female beauty)[68] were often used to describe Johnson. Here, the direct gaze, the exposed throat and décolletage, the folded material of her skirt accenting the graceful turn of her lower body, all communicate desirability. Yet her demeanour and lady-like presentation balances sexuality and reputation so that she appears as most women wanted to be seen, "both sexually attractive and sufficiently 'modest' to indicate their good character."[69]

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[63] Diana Fithian, "The Lyceum Movement: A Revolution in American Education," Women in Literatures, http://www.tncc.cc.va.us/faculty/longt/FriendshipBook/LyceumMovement.htm; accessed 24 August 2002.

[64] Female performances bordered on the questionable because women were 'displaying themselves' for multiple viewers in a public setting. Tracy C. Davis discusses how not only the role but also the public spaces where women performed were seen as sexually charged. Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* (London: Routledge, 1991), 149.

[65] Johnson's deportment helped protect her person and reputation. "The aloofness and hauteur that had made other children call her 'proudy' now was useful in convincing both farmers and their wives that she was not to be regarded as a 'stage actress.' In addition, she had picked up a few tips from the English upper class on how to keep people at a distance. As a result women always considered her a lady and became her staunch supporters." Betty Keller, *Pauline: A Biography of Pauline Johnson* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre,1981), 105.

In constructing an image that combined sexual attractiveness, modesty and upper-class status Johnson's choice of garment was crucial.[70] Her gown of white brocade with deep bands of decorative lace, wide sleeves, fitted waist and a flared skirt are similar to ball gowns featured in a Paris fashion plate from the same year (fig. 31). The true sophistication of her costume becomes apparent when compared to an aristocrat's (fig. 32). With the exception of jewellery, the richness of the fabric in Johnson's dress and her elegant version of the fashionable collet (short cape) compare more than equitably with Baroness Seaton's.[71] Her choice of color and brocade cloth elevates it to an ideal, as light-colored expensive fabric was only practical for the wealthy.[72] Words written by Johnson on the back of an 1894 portrait also connect her clothing to desirable connotations of the British aristocracy: "This was taken in 1894 just after I returned from my first London season. The frock is my first English dinner dress. It was made at Barker's, High Street, Kensington, S.W." Johnson was in a nebulous social position in London, both a guest and performer at society gatherings. But the term 'first English season' suggests the experience of a debutante rather than an entertainer.[73] Her purchase of this dress from Barker's (one of three major "department stores that catered to the desire of the emerging middle class to dress as well [if not as expensively] as London's grandees") and four others from a reputable London seamstress facilitated an image of British upper-class rank.[74] Fashionability also extended to her countenance and coiffure. The shaped eyebrows and hairstyle in her 1897 portrait could be taken directly from the Paris model (fig. 31 – left side) with an addition of the popular 'spit curl' (center model) to accentuate her forehead. The symbolism evoked by Johnson's style of presentation emerges in an anecdote from her Canadian tours. An English man living on the frontier came up after a performance and cried because he had not seen anyone dress like that since he left England.[75]

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[66] In a study of middle class portraits of working women, Colleen Skidmore argues that a woman could present herself higher up the social class hierarchy by "sharing [their] poses, expressions, dress, coiffures and attributes". Colleen Skidmore, "Women Workers in Notman's Studio: 'Young Ladies of the Printing Room'," *History of Photography* 20 (Summer 1996): 122.

[67] Audrey Linkman, *The Victorians*, 43.

[68] Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism*, 213.

[69] Ibid.,132.

[70] "Dress and fashion were…central to the construction of the Society Lady". Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own, Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London & New York: Routledge, 1996), 195.

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[71] This is particularly significant since the Baroness is not wearing regular evening dress but a formal court presentation gown (here minus the required veil and white ostrich plumes). The main variation in Johnson's costume from hers is that instead of bare arms and gloves, Johnson has an extended fitted sleeve. There are several possible reasons for this. This type of sleeve would be appropriate when attending a concert or recital and would be particularly suitable, therefore, for Johnson's performances. Another possibility is that this may be a ball gown with a detachable under sleeve used for extra warmth in cold venues or in small towns where exposing that much flesh might have carried unfavourable connotations. The types, style and role of clothing revealed by Johnson's photographs are a rich source for further study by costume historians.

[72] Most people used darker fabrics (even for their wedding gowns) because they were less likely to stain and could be used over again in other contexts. The white wedding began in the Victorian era but "throughout the period, white weddings like Princess Alexandra's remained the prerogative of a privileged minority." Linkman, *The Victorians*,114.

[73] Johnson was an immediate success in London aristocratic circles and quite comfortable among the nobility. Having a mother who did not believe they should have to work, who made her children 'dress' in the afternoon and who expected impeccable manners on all levels and occasions, Johnson's social training and experience growing up in a home where elite members of society (princes, marquises) were guests, prepared her well to interact in high society. It was in London's literary circles that Johnson often felt insecure. Gray, *Flint and Feather,* 180-81.

Akin to a later 1904 image of Lady Duff Gordon by Alexander Bassano, a photographer to the Queen,[76] Johnson's portrait was a high-key (white on white) photograph (fig. 33). One of the most technically-difficult photographs to light and record, it is also one of the most effective images to convey glamour because of the soft glowing appearance that is achieved when done properly. Both Johnson's and Lady Duff Gordon's photographs display the technical virtuosity required to realize this affect. Sophisticated lighting models their symmetrical features, deftly highlighting one side of the face a little more than the other to create three-dimensional vitality. A lustrous light glows on Duff Gordon's shoulders and highlights the cleft of Johnson's collarbone. In both images the pale shadow on one side of the face emphasizes an elegant line of cheek and jaw. Within the darkest part of the photographs, the curls and tendrils of hair remain visible. Catch lights in the eyes enliven the portraits as Johnson and Duff Gordon gaze serenely at the viewer. Sophisticated in lighting, but also in pose and angle of view, these portraits accentuate the women's physical features and set off their curved figures.

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[74] Ibid.,183. Stories by family and friends suggest that Johnson loved to dress fashionably but Johnson's mother also raised her children to 'dress for dinner' and American guests to Chiefswood were surprised to find the latest copy of *Harper's* magazine. Evelyn Johnson, Dorothy Keen and Martha McKeon. "Some Visitors at Chiefswood," *Chiefswood* (unpublished memoirs, Ontario Archives),15. Despite the representation of wealth and status Johnson did not have the funds of an English lady and Charlotte Gray indicates that the dresses she purchased in England formed her stage wardrobe for the next decade. (Gray, *Flint and Feather*, 231.) For example, the dress in the 1897 photograph has extremely enlarged sleeve puffs that were the height of fashionability in 1895/6 and were beginning to decline by 1897. Despite this, the richness of the costume and its sophistication mitigate slightly-dated sleeves and meet the public expectation that performers would be dressed more dramatically than the average person. Contemporary fashion magazines also emphasized that women should wear what most suited them rather than what was merely up-to-date and this was Johnson's favourite performance gown, probably in part, because it was so flattering.

[75] Jack Scott, "The Passionate Princess," *Maclean's Magazine,* 1 April 1952, 54.

[76] Alexander Bassano had a reputable London studio and some of his photographs were the basis for several well-known paintings of Queen Victoria. Terence Pepper, *High Society Photographs 1897-1914* (London: National Portrait Gallery,1998), 89.

Like Johnson or Duff Gordon's image, between a portrait of the Princess of Pless and a photograph of Sarah Bernhardt it is difficult to decide who is the aristocrat and who is the actress (fig. 34 & fig. 35). Varying circumstances, including women's greater entry into the marketplace (more in visible professions like acting), the dramatic increase of illustrated publications and the discovery of women's 'marketability' with the new technologies had developed into a visual cult of beauty where images of the Princess of Wales, the actress Lily Langtree, Mrs. Grover Cleveland and an 'unnamed Egyptian Beauty' could co-exist side by side.[77] Publicity photographs of female celebrities incorporated signs of beauty, femininity and sophistication that visually 'ennobled' them. The intersection of beauty with status was complicated by increasing ties between the upper class and performers as entertainers like the actress Belle Bilton married into English high society and were then “re-pictured in their new social stratification” (fig.36 a & b).[78] Johnson, a public performer and celebrity, inhabited this visual overlap by presenting an icon of aristocracy and Englishness - the ‘lady.’ This image was reified by the text of her 1898 publicity flyer which identified her titled London patrons including lords, ladies, an earl and countess, marquis and marchioness and a duchess (fig. 37).

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[77] This specific combination occurred in a set of 1880s Allen and Ginter tobacco trade cards entitled 'The World's Beauties' and listed in Robert Forbes and Terence Mitchell's *American Tobacco Cards Price Guide and Checklist* (1999).

Why Johnson had this portrait made in St. Mary’s is not known. When near home, Johnson usually went to the well-known local studio of Cochran. Whether the unknown photographers of Leary and Company requested the opportunity to photograph Johnson for their own purposes or whether Johnson commissioned the work herself, her choice of it for stage publicity demonstrates its effectiveness at conveying an image she wanted to project.[79] The mimicry of sophisticated techniques employed in the best of studios (demonstrated in the technical and aesthetic skill of this image) situates it at the most accomplished level of portraiture. Combined with Johnson’s own discerning choice of expression, dress and hairstyle the image publicizes status.

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[78] Terence Pepper, *High Society Photographs*, 65. Connections between the stage and English aristocracy were happening on a number of different levels. Aristocrats were increasingly appearing on stage for benefits or amateur performances like the singer Lady Maud Warrender who gave over 900 charity concerts. Performers were also marrying into the aristocracy and both society ladies and stage celebrities were fashion models. “Particularly in its earliest period, fashion, portraiture, and theatre photography resembled each other,“ states Nancy Hall-Duncan in *The History of Fashion Photography* (New York: Alpine Book Company, 1979), 9.

[79] It was common practice for studios to pay celebrities for the opportunity to photograph them, both to enhance the photographer’s reputation and for resale to a popular market. On the other hand, Johnson might have been impressed by a window shop display. It was near Christmas, she was on tour, may have wanted to send images as a gift to family and friends and may have commissioned it herself. Whatever the motivation, this apparently is the only photograph she ever had made by Leary and Co.

While Johnson's lifestyle was not characteristic of most native women her studio portraits did represent a larger body of unseen native imagery that combated class stereotypes.[80] The contrast between a middle-class child and teachers with native students in a group portrait from a residential school visualises the expected class differences between natives and non-natives (fig. 38). Because natives were viewed as inherently primitive most non-natives expected only nominal success from them in the 'civilized' world. But programs of assimilation also reinforced these class assumptions. Exposed in photographs from residential schools, the goal of assimilation was not to create competitive middle-class citizens but to train a productive working class (fig. 39).[81] As anthropologist Daniel Wilson wrote in 1876, native peoples should become like the 'civilized half-breed' and "mingle on equal terms with settlers."[82] But settlers were themselves new citizens, often agrarian and of the working class rather than established middle-class Canadians. Johnson's image, as an extremely visible and successful native woman surpassing middle-class citizens in status and 'civilized' accomplishments, contradicted racist class expectations.

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[80] There were many native women performers who worked in "Indian" shows, whether large affairs organized by non-natives such as *Buffalo Bill's Wild West* show or smaller native groups who travelled as a family, small clan or tribe. But they were not independent performers, the 'star' of their own show. There were some women who had a similar type of career to Johnson's. These were native activists like Sarah Winnemucca or Zitkala-Sa whom I will consider in more depth in Chapter Two.

[81] Residential schools were industrial schools. They were training native peoples to become members of society on a social rung of the ladder lower than the middle class, to the still safely-denigrated working classes, invisible themselves except for their labour and visual picturesqueness in imagery. See J.R. Miller's "Reading Photographs, Reading Voices: Documenting the History of Native Residential Schools" in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History,* ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown & Elizabeth Vibert. (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1996) for an analysis of how photographs demonstrated the underlying class expectations and the agenda of residential schools.

[82] Daniel Wilson, *Prehistoric Man: Researches into the Origin of Civilisation in the Old and the New World* (London: Macmillan, 1876), 274.

Johnson's portraits represented her public working out of role, identity and status from 1890 to 1898. Beginning with the 1890 *Saturday Globe* portrait Johnson's initial images alternated between True and New Woman. Her True Woman brought a private form of aboriginal imagery into public view, shattering the 'primitive' label and providing a safe ideal for her initial foray into the public eye. Some viewers could have read it as an example of a 'cultivated Indian' but even at this early period, her self-confidence and activist tendencies (displayed both in the subversive element of the snowshoe brooch and in her sport photographs) negated a secure categorization. When Johnson began her public recital career she moved quickly and easily into a position of public activist, both verbally and visually. The second stage of her representation (following her successful one-woman performance at Association Hall in 1892) was a definitive use not only of New Woman imagery but of an attempt to present an active and contemporary image of native women. While the terms 'cultivated and educated' (taken from "A Strong Race Opinion") appear to be a kind of self-description for Johnson, the agency, feminism and modernity of a New Native Woman invalidated the paternal prejudice of the 'cultivated Indian' stereotype. In her mature celebrity images Johnson's astute employment of status portrayed her according to the ideals of stardom, which allowed her to contest class stereotypes of native women and sexual stereotypes of female performers (while maintaining her own sexual identity). Unlike most native Canadians she was not rendered invisible. Far more than just marginally successful, she was highly visible and famous – known for her literary accomplishments, her successful recital career and a celebrity identity.

Stuart Hall, in describing cultural identity and the people of Martinique argues that a combination of Parisian style and black or mulatto skin creates a sophistication that "because it is black, is always transgressive."[83] Publicly self-identified as 'Indian,' Johnson's images, in their modernity, agency, public success, and status, transgressed all of the Indian stereotypes. In a society where native peoples' contemporary lives and experiences were being visually overwritten by colonial typecasting, Johnson employed a kind of imagery - middle class studio portraits - used by contemporary native women in their own private lives, to publicly negate the very stereotypes meant to restrict her.

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[83] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference,* ed. Jonathon Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 228-9.

"For those of us who do not conform to a stereotype of what native people 'look like,' claiming our identities as Native people becomes an exercise in racism…'"

Beth Brant
Mohawk mixed-blood author
1994

Chapter Two

DEREGULATING THE ‘INDIAN MAIDEN’ THROUGH PERFORMANCE:

Pauline Johnson’s Re-Presentation of the ‘Indian Princess’ Stereotype

In 1893 a new type of portrait of Johnson appeared in Hector Charlesworth's article "The Canadian Girl: An Appreciative Medley"(fig. 40). The provocative, buckskin-clad Indian maiden diverged from Johnson's normally fashionable, up-to-date and sexually-astute image. Was this the 'regulation Indian maiden' Johnson had derisively attacked only a few months before? "Romance of ancestry" as she described it to a friend was a key element in her success.[1] Was she, as Chad Evans accuses in *Frontier Theatre,* merely a performer who developed "a handle on an ethnic or racial stereotype, which they would then flaunt as long as it caused audience identification"?[2] No, she was not. Johnson had significant personal attachments to her aboriginal heritage and as a native woman and performer in nineteenth-century Canada her life was more complex than this reductive statement. Confronted by racist expectations of 'Indianness' Johnson did use a visual form of a cultural image – the 'Indian princess' – to verify her ethnicity. Yet her portraits were visual illustrations of her on-stage identity, and as such, they were defined by presentations of her own writing in which she challenged, provoked and deregulated the Indian maiden stereotype.

Johnson wore contemporary middle-class fashions for her first tour in spring 1892, but by September she had decided to use costumes during her second tour, and specifically an Indian costume while reciting her native-themed poems.[3] Although living only a few miles from the Grand River Reserve she wrote to friends seeking help finding moccasins, "beads, quills, sashes, shoes" from as far away as Montreal and reserves in the North West.[4] That fall she went to her local photographer, C. S. Cochran, and was photographed in a buckskin dress she received from the North West (fig. 41). Using a family picture of Minnehaha as a template, Johnson had embellished the dress with animal skins and silver brooches, a red blanket, wampum belts, a knife and a Huron scalp.[5] This identifiable image of native ethnicity, unlike her middle-class portraiture, did not change significantly over the course of her career. The author portrait of Johnson which appeared in her second book of poetry *Canadian Born* (1903), shows only minor alterations to her costume: the beaded choker replaced by a bear-claw necklace from Ernest Thompson Seton, the original fringed hem changed to a Victorian-style teardrop edge, the top fitted rather than loosely gathered and on the right side of her waist, the addition of a braided Sioux scalp lock (fig. 42).[6]

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[1] Johnson's own words in a letter to W.D. Whitehall (written two weeks after request for assistance with her costume) where she stated that it was her nationality, her friends, and 'booming' (the sponsorship of known literary figures) that were the keys to her success. Letter partially quoted in Veronica Strong Boag and Carole Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson – Tekahionwake* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 118.

[2] Chad Evans, *Frontier Theatre: A History of Nineteenth-Century Theatrical Entertainment in the Canadian Far West and Alaska* (Victoria, British Columbia: Sono Nis Press,1983), 184.

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[3] The spectacular use of costume by her friend, the Belgian actress Mlle Rhea, may have partially influenced Johnson's decision to create a dramatic Indian costume. Mlle Rhea was famous for her striking costumes (more so than her acting) and a portrait in the Chiefswood collection (perhaps the same one Johnson once displayed in her parlor) shows Rhea in magnificent Ottoman-style dress.

[4] From a letter to W.D. Whitehall in Montreal (18 Sept. 1892). Quoted in Veronica Strong Boag and Carole Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*,110.

[5] Minnehaha was a popular nineteenth-century literary Indian princess from Longfellow's 1855 epic poem *Song of Hiawatha*. Her sister Evelyn observed the process of creating the costume and described it in her memoirs. Evelyn H.C. Johnson, Dorothy Keen and Martha McKeon, "Emily Pauline Johnson: 1861-1913" *Chiefswood* (unpublished memoirs, Ontario Archives), 9.

[6] Johnson wanted a bear claw necklace and received one as a gift from Ernest Thompson Seton but at an unknown date. Charlotte Gray says it was 1895 but Johnson wore it in photographs as early as 1893. Charlotte Gray, *Flint and Feather: The Life and Times of E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake* (Toronto: Harper Flamingo, 2002), 197. Scalp locks were usually one lock of hair

When Johnson began to perform on the lyceum circuit in 1892 it was her new on-stage career that became the catalyst and source for her 'Indian princess' portraits. Her initial publicity showed Johnson posing in studio portraits as she would have appeared in mid-performance. The earliest known image presented her in her most common and well-known recital role, as the native wife exhorting her husband before the battle of Cut Knife Creek during the Riel Rebellion (fig. 43). Like 'Sarah Bernhard in *Theodora'*, Johnson's portrait as the woman in 'A Cry from an Indian Wife' was a posed image denoting on-stage performance (fig. 44). Both Bernhardt and Johnson are photographed in dramatic action. Bernhardt has barred the palace door and fearfully blocks it with her body while Johnson's uplifted face and raised arm, displaying the fringed sleeve of her costume, show her figure in dramatic and earnest exclamation. Johnson's image, like her presentation on the lyceum stage, lacked Bernhardt's theatre set but the style was the same - the presenter in 'live' performance, a posed visual preview for audiences.

By 1895 Johnson no longer needed to provide the almost-didactic portrait of herself in the middle of a presentation. Visiting London in 1894 to seek a publisher for her first book of poems Johnson attended theatre shows with the leading actresses of the day including Bernhardt, Ellen Terry, Eleanor Duse and Lily Langtree.[7] On her return to Canada she commissioned a new type of formal

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with a bit of attached scalp. Johnson described her Sioux scalp lock as "a beautiful braid of long brown-black hair, the flesh 'cured' and encased in tightly-stitched buckskin, and coiled about it close rows of turquoise blue 'Hudson's Bay' beads." See E. Pauline Johnson, "Trails of the Old Tillicums," *Daily Province Magazine,* 31 Dec. 1910.

[7] Sheila Johnston, *Buckskin & Broadcloth: A Celebration of E. Pauline Johnson - Tekahionwake 1861-1913* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books,1997),102.

studio portrait from Cochran: the performer as an identifiable character (fig. 45). Now, a celebrated Canadian entertainment figure, she began presenting herself in character as 'Tekahionwake.' Like Nadar's portrait of 'Bernhardt as Phedre' (which Johnson may have seen in London), this type of portrait relied on the audience's recognition of the performer in a well-known role (fig. 46). Johnson's addition of Tekahionwake or 'Double Wampum,' her great-grandfather's Mohawk name (employed for the first time in London), titled her native identity.[8] Unlike the earlier staged tableaux this new image operated, as Heather McPherson describes Bernhard's, "at the universal, mythologizing level by picturing the quintessence of" Johnson/Tekahionwake "(as actress and woman) rather than a specific dramatic moment."[9] The close-up reveals the details of Johnson's costume but also emphasizes her face. She deliberately exhibits a profile view to display what she considered her only physiological 'Mohawk' feature, her nose. In an 1896 photograph, a few accessories are varied (a feather added to her hair and an elk's tooth necklace instead of bear claws) but the same image is projected (fig. 47). By 1898 Johnson re-incorporated a performance aspect into her 'Tekahionwake' portraits by fusing full-length images with theatrical poses and the now-standard profile view (figs. 13 a, 42 & 99).[10] This was 'Tekahionwake' in performance.[11]

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[8] Strong-Boag and Gerson say "No evidence survives as to whether she followed proper Mohawk custom to obtain legitimate use of the name." *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 116. But it is clear from her sister Evelyn's memoirs and from Johnson's own words in an 1886 article that the Johnson family considered Tekahionwake to be their original family name, available for use by any member of the family. Garth Grafton a.k.a. Sara Jeannette Duncan, "Woman's World," *Globe*, Oct. 1886.

[9] Heather McPherson, *The Modern Portrait in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 99.

Although her promotional materials never literally titled her 'Indian maiden' or 'Indian princess,' Johnson's visual appearance embodied the image.[12] A rapturous American reviewer expressed it well: "Miss E. Pauline Johnson is a wondrously beautiful young Indian maiden, possessed of all the romantic charms read in story books."[13] One English reviewer noted, "Miss Johnson gives her performance clad in the picturesque garb whose details are familiar to the reader of Ballantyne and Fenimore Cooper, not forgetting the necklet of bears' claws without which the full-dress costume of either sex would, of course, be quite incomplete."[14] Johnson's attire mirrored a Plains-style image of buckskin and furs although the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) had long before replaced buckskin with cloth and furs with blankets.[15] Her dramatic accessories (beaded, made with bones, or human flesh like the Sioux scalp) came from a variety of tribal groups presenting, not a Mohawk, but a Pan-Indian identity.

In private life and her Euro-Canadian portraits Johnson was well-dressed and fashionable. In public performance she wore a short-skirted buckskin dress, her bare legs covered with only leggings and moccasins. Johnson normally wore her hair up and was self-conscious when once caught in public with night-time braids but in 'Indian portraits' and on-stage proudly wore her hair loose and flowing.[16] In many of her native-style photographs she projected blatant sexuality by appearing in erotically charged poses with arms raised above her head or with her hands on her hips (fig. 48). Johnson, as one reviewer recognized, "presented a picture seldom seen outside the imagination conjured in descriptive accounts of Indian princesses."[17] Yet even prior to her creation of a native performance identity, Johnson's light-colored skin, attractive presentation of face and figure and her position as the daughter of a Mohawk chief seemed a perfect fit for the Indian princess stereotype.

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[10] In 1906 Johnson did have a few images made that, like the 1895-1897 portraits, focused solely on her face (fig. 98).

[11] The three stages of Johnson's stage publicity – 'in performance' photographs, followed by portraits of 'Tekahionwake' and finally the complex amalgamation of both - were not necessarily noticeable to contemporary viewers since Johnson frequently prolonged the use of a particular portrait over a extended time period, resulting in the overlap of the different styles.

[12] Over the course of her career she was titled in her publicity materials as a Mohawk Indian Poet-Reciter, 'The Indian Poet Reciter,' 'The Iroquois Indian Poet-Entertainer,' and 'The Mohawk Author-Entertainer.' Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 105.

[13] "Mohawk Princess," unidentified newspaper (Grand Rapids, Michigan), Nov. 1896.

[14] "An Iroquois Lady Entertainer," *The Westminster Gazette* (London), 19 August 1906.

[15] The term 'Iroquois' has been used since contact to designate the shared language groups of which the Mohawk are a part. Their own name for themselves - the Haudenosaunee - means People of the Long House.

Combining the exotic and the erotic with European concepts of status, beauty and 'good' femininity, the Indian princess was intrinsically linked to the story of Pocahontas. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Pocahontas had become "one of the great representations of the good Indian."[18] She was defined by misperceived status, an intermediary role between cultures, her 'loyalty' to non-native men and, finally, by a 'conversion' to European civilization.[19] The earliest remaining portrait shows Pocahontas in British court dress as “daughter to the mighty Prince Powhatan…converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and wife to the wor.^{tt} M:^{r} Joh: Rolff” (fig. 49). Classified by relationships to father and husband, her ‘conversion’ - both cultural and religious - was visually and textually reiterated. Reified with the addition of John Smith’s story about her apparent death-defying sacrifice to save him, images of her physically intervening to protect Smith became a significant part of North American mythology (fig. 50).[20] The real-life Pocahontas’ story and choices had been appropriated to create an Indian princess prototype legitimating colonialism by her choice of non-native culture, lifestyles and men. Her skin, usually lighter than that of other natives in the same picture, revealed her origin as “an Anglo-centered legend.”[21] Over and over, the mythical Pocahontas appeared in plays, paintings, and history books, as a figurehead for American warships, and even in the United States Capitol building.[22]

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[16] This was a hairstyle inconsistent with Victorian ideals of modesty. As a mature woman in colonial society Johnson usually wore her hair up in public. She was embarrassed when she was caught in a hotel fire and escaped only to realize her hair was still in braids. Evelyn H.C. Johnson, "Emily Pauline Johnson," 19. In 1877,Charlotte Yonge wrote, "Tumble-down hair, falling dishevelled on the shoulders sounds grand in fiction, but it is disgusting in real life." Quoted in Valerie Steele, *Fashion and Eroticism: Ideals of Feminine Beauty from the Victorian Era to the Jazz Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 119.

[17] "Mohawk Princess," unidentified newspaper (Grand Rapids, Michigan), Nov. 1896.

[18] Robert S. Tilton, *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 29.

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[19] At initial contact Europeans acted nation to nation with individual tribal groups. With ethnocentric vision they ascribed status similar to their own forms of government. With the possible exception of the Natchez culture, there were no examples of male hereditary, land-based monarchy in native North America. Attributions of ‘Prince,’ ‘Emperor,’ ‘King’ and so on were based on concepts of rulership that addressed tribal leaders as kings, their sons as princes and their daughters as princesses. In 1612, Pocahontas was captured and held hostage by the Jamestown colonists as a guarantor for her father’s behaviour. While a prisoner and probably under some pressure she ‘converted’ to Christianity. Robert S. Tilton analyses how her story was appropriated to meet specific needs and viewpoints at different stages of American history. See ibid.

[20] Rayna Green, “The Pocahontas Perplex: the Image of Indian Women in American Culture,” *The Massachusetts Review* 16 no.3 (Autumn 1975): 700. There is some controversy over John Smith’s account as it appeared in his memoirs after Pocahontas’ death. Many historians regard it as probable but also indicate that it is an example of cross-cultural misunderstanding. Pocahontas was probably not saving Smith’s life but playing a pre-arranged role in a ceremonial adoption meant to ratify a reciprocal relationship between the tribe and himself.

[21] Helen C. Rountree, “Pocahontas: The Hostage Who Became Famous,” in *Sifters: Native American Women’s Lives,* ed. Theda Perdue (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 14.

Kendra Hamilton states that the historical person of Pocahontas "essentially stepped into a ready-made iconic role."[23] Prior to contact with the Americas, Europe had already developed a visual vocabulary to define outside cultures as 'other' based on concepts of the primitive.[24] During the Renaissance, the 'four corners' of the world were personified by female allegorical figures and by the sixteenth century an Indian Queen was universally used to represent the western continent, America (fig. 51).[25] An Amazonian figure, she had varied exotic characteristics – she might carry a bow and arrows, a spear or even a tomahawk, wear a feathered headdress or skirt and her fanciful mount was often an armadillo or crocodile. Her nude body, however, reflected the classically ideal form that dominated European art. In his foundational articles, "The American Image as Indian Princess" and "From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess: The American Image," E. McClung Fleming argued that this symbolic figure moved through several important stages relevant to North American history. In the eighteenth century she evolved into a more youthful, Indian princess (now a symbol of the Thirteen Colonies and the American struggle for independence). A feathered headdress remained a distinguishing feature even while clothing, attributes and even her complexion varied from image to image and more and more, she was depicted with a Liberty pole (figs. 52 a & b).[26] After American independence several other feminine figures joined the Indian princess as concurrent and at times seemingly interchangeable national symbols (fig. 53). Greco-Roman in style, with these figures "it was often not clear whether a feathered Indian princess had been changed into a Greek goddess or whether a Greek goddess [had] placed a few feathers in her hair."[27] This ambiguous type gradually resolved itself into one form – the figure of Liberty.[28]

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[22] Dressed in glowing white, kneeling before a church font beneath the outstretched hand of a minister, Pocahontas, surrounded by colonists and natives appears in John Chapman's 1840 *The Baptism of Pocahontas* in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol.

[23] Kendra Hamilton, "Pocahontas: Icon At The Crossroads Of Race And Gender in North America," *Pocahontas: Icon At The Crossroads Of Race And Sex*, http://xroads.virginia.edu/~CAP/POCA/Pocanew2.html; accessed 6 August 2003.

[24] John F. Moffit and Santiago Sebastian, *O Brave New People: The European Invention of the American Indian* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 10.

[25] E. McClung Fleming, "The American Image as Indian Princess 1765-1783," *Winterthur Portfolio II* (1965): 67.

But what happened to the Indian princess? Elwood Parry contends that, if "Indians abruptly disappeared from the context of national symbolic imagery (except for peace medals), their numbers increased, if anything, on every other level of American art and especially on the sidewalk in the form of advertising images, trade signs and cigar store figures."[29] From the personification of a continent to emblem of an emerging nation, the Indian maiden had moved from a geopolitical allegory to a folk symbol. Whether as an Oswego maiden selling patent medicine, an Indian Queen selling perfume or Pocahontas selling chewing tobacco (fig. 54 a-c) the figure of the Indian princess was everywhere, in prints and on textiles, as trademarks or wooden figures, in paintings and on post cards, perfume bottles, biscuit tins and tobacco packages.[30] Photographers often sought out the 'princess' type by making portraits of native women who fit the ideal in terms of looks and/or exotic dress. This intent was made clear by labels like "Belle of the Yakimas," "Apache Princess" and "The Chief Had a Beautiful Daughter" (fig. 55). When possible, photographers focused on the least acculturated tribes in an attempt to present the 'unspoiled' native. These images both met and fostered the increasing nineteenth-century idea of Plains natives as the typical 'Indian.'[31]

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[26] E. McClung Fleming, 74. Besides her youth and the loss of distinctly Caribbean or South American characteristics, McClung Fleming argues that what distinguishes this figure as a symbol of the Thirteen Colonies can be "found in the allegorical situations in which she is depicted." These include "her daughter-mother relation to Britannia, her pursuit of liberty, and her command of the strategic factor of overseas trade."

[27] E. McClung Fleming, "From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess: The American Image 1783-1815," *Winterthur Portfolio III* (1967): 81.

[28] 'Liberty' increasingly competed with the masculine figures of Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathon. Ibid, 65.

[29] Ellwood Parry, *The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art:1590-1900* (New York: George Braziller, 1974), 68. Rayna Green says "the use [of Indian designations or logos] still persists in approximately 250 known products in the twentieth century." Rayna Green, "The Only Good Indian: The Image of the Indian in American Vernacular Culture" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1973), 297.

But the stereotype was not only pictured, it was performed. With her fair-skinned beauty, her elevated status and a cultural preference for colonials, the princess was an exotic and appealing role. From the professional or amateur stage, non-native individuals, whom Rayna Green describes as 'wannabee Indians,' declaimed, exclaimed and performed their supposed native ethnicity.[32] Pictured in a fringed cloth dress decorated with turkey feathers and a headband, Annie Oakley's version of the Indian princess appears shoddy beside the buckskin, beading and furs of Johnson's image (fig. 56). But, Oakley's costume is an inexpensive attempt to present the same Plains-type attire Johnson successfully constructed (see fig. 42). Johnson's native-made articles contrast with the imitation 'buckskin' of Oakley, but the 'type' they present are strikingly similar. In their faux tribal garb, both dramatically pose in an ambiguous space, hair down, embellished with a feather, gazing into the distance. What then, is different about Johnson's performance of ethnicity?

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[30] A few elements varied from figure to figure. Some appeared more mature with a fuller form differentiating between the figure of Queen and the more youthful Princess. Also the concept of the native as natural healer was invoked when the Queen/Princess gathered herbs or concocted medicines. Some images even presented her as a warrior woman.

[31] This differed from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries when she was most likely to be represented with the short skirt and upright feather headdress of Eastern Woodlands dress.

[32] Rayna Green, "The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe," *Folklore* 99 (1988): 30-55.

Gloria Anzaldua says "the world knows us by our faces..." and when the individual rebels against the image expected by their community they "experience ostracism, alienation and shame."[33] Debra Merskin, a mixed heritage woman with her father's blond hair, relates the condemnation to a 'threat' of passing, the fear that those of another race might pass themselves off as 'white.' She argues that, "definitions of appropriate physical appearance form a specific function in American society, created to service the status quo by keeping things orderly. If a person varies from what's considered to be the standard, it confuses things."[34]

Johnson's physical appearance baffled people. Her grey-green eyes, olive complexion and curly brown hair contrasted with physiognomic stereotypes of Indians who had "coarse, straight black hair; ruddy complexion; high cheekbones; a pronounced nose."[35] One British reviewer demarcated the disparity between Johnson and the Indian image: "Apart from her costume, one might be forgiven, however, for not suspecting for a moment Miss Johnson's interesting ancestry, since if she announced herself as a young lady of purest Canadian or American, or, for that matter, English descent no one would be in the least disposed to question the statement."[36] Claire Huang Kinsley recognizes the peculiarly racist aspect of these expectations:

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[33] Gloria Anzaldua, *Making Face, Making Soul: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Women of Color* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Foundation Books,1990), xv. Reference first noted in Debra L. Merskin, "What Does One Look Like?," in *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture,* ed. Elisabeth S. Bird (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), 281.

[34] Merskin, "What Does One Look Like?," 283.

[35] Ibid., 281. Although Johnson considered her nose to be 'Indian' (perhaps because of the small bump on the bridge) it was not the distinctively hooked and prominent proboscis most commonly depicted in illustrations of 'Indians.' Johnson's hair, which was curly, caused the most confusion. People refused to believe the curl was natural and some newspapers reported that she curled her hair.

> People often assume that I'm white (nothing but white). That, I think, is an understandable mistake. What gets to me, though, is if, after finding out their assumption was wrong, they nevertheless figure that it was inevitable. That anybody in their place would have thought the same thing. That this assumption was entirely a result of the way *I look*, and nothing to do with the way *they see*."[37]

A variety of anecdotes show that the way people see posed an ongoing problem for Johnson. Concepts of 'otherness' have always existed but in the nineteenth century 'race' became the defining concept in relations between people groups. Native peoples were photographed, measured and categorized in a hierarchical system where new scientific theories codified visible aspects of difference to identify various 'types' (fig. 57).[38] Dominated by the presumed superiority of Caucasian facial types (particularly Anglo-Saxon), diagrams and drawings illustrated other 'races' as exaggerated examples of lower forms (fig.

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[36] "An Iroquois Lady Entertainer," *The Westminster Gazette*, 19 August 1906.

[37] Claire Huang Kinsley, "Questions People Have Asked Me. Questions I Have Asked Myself," in *Miscegenation Blues: Voices of Mixed Race Women*, ed. Carol Camper (Toronto: Sister Vision, Black Woman and Women of Colour Press,1994),118.

[38] The concept of 'race' was only proposed in the seventeenth century and has since been disproved by modern genetics. Race was, and often still is believed to be indicated by physical markers, but there are no chromosomes indicating race. It is a classification system based on the expectation of particular traits and the expectations vary according to culture and time period. Naomi Zack, "My Racial Self Over Time," in *Miscegenation Blues: Voices of Mixed Race Women*, ed. Carol Camper (Toronto: Sister Vision, Black Woman and Women of Colour Press 1994), 25.

58). In an attempt to differentiate between 'white' and non-white bloodlines, physiognomic study was "freely applied in the streets and drawing rooms."[39] In her memoirs, Nellie McClung recounted a story Johnson shared with an audience after her return from England.

> My dear," said one short-sighted countess, raising her lorgnette, "your skin is really very clear and white, and yet you say your father is an Indian." Pauline acknowledged the fact, and the countess blundered on: "Really," she said, "I would not have known it." But before the interview was over, the Mohawk Princess scored. She blandly asked her interrogator if it was true that she was of pure white blood, at which the countess snorted in indignation. "Of course I am," she said – to which Pauline murmured politely, "I would never have known it!"[40]

It was more than Johnson's non-conforming physiognomy that challenged audiences' expectations, however. Perceptions were complicated, as Anne Maxwell argues, by the "fact that in the last decades of the nineteenth century the meaning of the term 'race' was shifting and unstable. It was sometimes used as if it were synonymous with species, sometimes with culture and sometimes to denote the ethnicity of sub-groups within national groupings."[41] Indianness was not defined singly by facial features or skin color but also by cultural ethnicity. Natives were visually identified by buckskin, feathers and beads, symbolizing a prehistoric position on the cultural evolutionary scale. A *Chicago Tribune* reporter pointed out the paradox between Johnson's style and the 'primitive' stereotype saying, "Miss Johnson wears Frenchy looking gowns and neatly fitting shoes and gloves. ...she curls her front hair and manicures her nails. In fact, she does pretty well everything that a real Indian would not be expected to do...And she talks like a Vassar graduate."[42] Educated, well dressed and erudite in relation to British, Canadian or American standards, Johnson was knowledgeable and sophisticated with a contemporary social understanding and proper British manners. She did not speak gutturally or in pidgin but used fluent English. Was she a real Indian?

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[39] Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist: The Representation of Type and Character in Victorian Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1989), 54.

[40] Nellie L. McClung, *The Stream Runs Fast: My Own Story* (Toronto: Thomas Allen Limited,1946), 34. In a newspaper interview Johnson shared a similar experience she had with an American woman.

[41] Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native' People and the Making of European Identities* (London & New York: Leicester University Press,1999),15.

Recognizing that her cultural identity "belong[ed] to the future as much as to the past"[43] Johnson's symbolic presentation took advantage of her current choices to manoeuvre future perceptions. As one reviewer said, "Her appearance in this costume, together with her manner in giving the selection, impresses one at once of the race to which she belongs."[44] That Johnson's costumed presentation was largely successful at verifying her racial background for audiences is seen in many reviews that state "she bears the Indian features in physical appearance"[45] or described her 'black hair' and her 'pure noble type' with "dark hair and eyes, high cheekbones...and straight, elastic-figure [leaving] no doubt of her Indian extraction."[46] One Charlottetown writer explicitly stated the expectation, its fulfillment and the authenticating aspect of dress: "...Miss

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[42] "Poetess of the Iroquois," *The Chicago Tribune*, 28 Jan. 1897.

[43] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathon Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart,1990), 225.

[44] "Saturday's 'Pop' Drew Largest Crowd of Series: A Delightful Programme Was Presented by Pauline Johnston, the Indian Reader, and Mr. Walter McRay," *Evening Examiner*, 12 March 1906 (Peterborough).

[45] "Indian Poetess: Miss Pauline Johnson and Owen Smily Entertain a Large Audience at the Congregational Church." Untitled newspaper clipping, n.d.

[46] Hamilton *Spectator*, n.d. McMaster archive

Johnson appeared clad in Indian garb, looking what she claims to be, a Mohawk Indian of Indian parentage."[47]

Assorted anecdotes demonstrate that inverting expectations (as she did with the English countess) was a distinctive personal strategy for intervening in racism.[48] But relating the experience on stage was her advance attack, stating her ethnicity before 'her Indianness was erased' by the viewers.[49] Like on-stage performances where she usually appeared in native costume first, her publicity photographs were part of a strategy to authenticate her ethnicity before sceptical audiences. When booked to perform in a particular area she sent lithographs, programs and press-notice circulars (fig. 59).[50] Pasted around town and published in the local newspapers, the image that preceded her performance anticipated audience doubts and pre-emptively communicated her ethnicity.

While clearly indebted to performance imagery, an in-depth examination of Johnson's "eclectic combination of tokens of nature that connote the noble savage, and Indigenous cultural artifacts that suggest the primitive warrior"[51] reveals her presentation was more than a stage identity. There were significant personal, tribal and symbolic meanings attached to the articles by which Johnson represented herself and her choice of dress mimicked the practices of her father and brothers. Analogous to Graham Clarke's discussion of 'public faces' and 'private lives,' Johnson's "private life takes its place within a public space, but it does so…from its individual self."[52]

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[47] "Miss Pauline Johnson" *The Daily Examiner,* 17 August, 1900 (Charlottetown).

[48] Johnson's mirroring back of the assumption to expose a xenophobic viewpoint is similar to a technique that Janice Gould describes Louise Erdrich (a present-day, mixed-blood Chippewa writer) using. Her response to "'Funny, you don't look Indian,' is 'Funny, you don't look rude!' Gould goes on to say, "I know my worst fear is to have some person come up to me and say, 'So, you aren't really an Indian after all!' Some Indians can laugh off such remarks, but we do look for ways to say to the person, No, you're wrong." Janice Gould, "The Problem of Being "Indian:" One Mixed-Blood's Dilemma," in *De/Colonizing the Subject: The Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography,* eds. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota,1992), 85.

[49] Ibid., 84.

[50] Lithographs were one of the most important forms of advertising in the latter nineteenth-century Canadian theatre. Posters with large images were used to advertise a star performer. Evans, *Frontier Theatre*, 138. Johnson wrote when arranging performances in Regina, "I take the liberty to send you by this mail samples of our printing, press notices." Then if a performance was booked, "We supply gratis lithographs, the same as samples sent, also press-notice circulars and programmes," Letter to Mr. James Brown at the Department of Education in Regina. Quoted in Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 144.

George Johnson's portraits were striking examples of the use of dress to represent ethnicity (fig. 60). Pauline saw her father's native-style ensemble as "the full costume of his office" as a hereditary chief but it was George's own construction rather than a 'traditional' Mohawk garment.[53] Made with fringed buckskin decorated with quills and embroidered with moose hair, it included leggings, tunic, armbands and a fur-lined jacket, as well as a beaded bag, several medals, including one given to him by the Prince of Wales (later King Edward) for his bravery fighting the illegal timber-for-liquor trade, a distinctive hat massed with ostrich plumes (a tribute to his military hero, Napoleon) and the red blanket later worn by his daughter. George's choice of dress and his employment of it was a prophetic precursor to later tribes' attempts to celebrate and communicate their ethnic identity.[54] Worn on visits to the legislature and in cross-cultural interactions in his role as government interpreter for the Grand River Reserve, George's outfit was in many ways a working costume (a kind of uniform) intended to remind others of his culture and the people whom he represented. But he also used it during special ceremonial occasions like the induction of Prince Arthur of Connaught as a Haudenosaunee chief, for demonstration lacrosse games and for his own personal enjoyment.[55] Although worn on ceremonial, political and social occasions, it carried personal meaning for his family as demonstrated by its use after his death when Allen obtained an enlarged Notman portrait of him in costume as a gift for their mother, Emily.[56] Emblematic to them of his role as a chief and cultural intermediary it also symbolized their hero, a man who fought the illegal liquor-for-timber trade on the reserve and died an early death, partially as the result of several violent assaults by non-native bootleggers.

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[51] Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 112.

[52] Graham Clarke, "Public Faces, Private Lives: August Sander," in *The Portrait in Photography*, ed. Graham Clarke (Washington, Seattle: Reaktion Books,1992), 93.

[53] Quote by Johnson from, "My Mother," *Moccasin Maker*, ed. Lavonne Brown Ruoff (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 34.

[54] Linda Welter describes the adoption of special costumes (which, like George's dress, used buckskin and incorporated Pan-Indian elements) as part of the cultural revival of southern New England tribes at the beginning of the twentieth century. Referred to as "'regalia,' connoting the

George's sons, Allen and Henry also wore costumes but, lacking George's significant connections to the tribe, their dress became more an example of symbolic ethnicity (fig. 61a).[57] As Susan B. Kaiser describes it, symbolic ethnicity

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idea of rich costumes to be paraded in front of spectators" such dress was a valued element of ceremonial occasions. Linda Welter, "From Moccasins to Frock Coats and Back Again: Ethnic Identity and Native American Dress in Southern New England," in *Dress in American Culture,* eds. Patricia A. Cunningham and Susan Voso Lab (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press,1993), 34.

[55] On a trip to the United States while visiting in-laws, he took a theatre box one evening and dressed in his garb. Other playgoers thought he was the Russian Czar and he and his party had to escape out a side door to avoid being mobbed by celebrity-seekers. Evelyn Johnson, Dorothy Keen and Martha McKeon, "George Henry Martin Johnson," *Chiefswood* (unpublished memoirs, Ontario archives),14.

[56] Emily Johnson hung it in the drawing room and when she was confined to bed, had it placed at the foot. Evelyn Johnson, "Emily Susanna Johnson and the Howells family," *Chiefswood* (unpublished memoirs, Ontario Archives),14.

[57] This was in part because of their mother. George wanted his sons to be initiated in the male societies of the Haudenosaunee but Emily refused. Raised in Mohawk culture where children

involves a "nostalgic allegiance to the culture" of the past combined with a "love for, and pride in, a tradition that can be experienced without being incorporated into everyday behavior."[58] Allen wears his grandfather's costume, which includes historic white and purple wampum cuffs symbolizing peace and decorated with emblems representing the different tribes.[59] But unlike his warrior father and grandfather, Allan's image, or his brother's with raised tomahawk, performs their heritage rather than describing their experiences (fig. 61b).[60]

The Johnson siblings were part of a native generation simultaneously experiencing an increased knowledge and awareness of a larger culture, including colonial and other native people groups, and a loss of connectedness with their own tribe and a personal practice of Mohawk traditions.[61] As the Haudenosaunee and the Johnson family became more acculturated, like many present-day natives, they began to identify with their heritage and culture through symbols of the past and through a larger identity as 'Indian,' a category that crossed tribal boundaries. The Grand River reserve had many cross-tribal

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belong to their mothers, George apparently did not pursue further involvement in traditional rites for his sons. But there are intriguing hints that Allen, at least, may have sought more involvement. In Pauline's 1886 interview with Sara Jeanette Duncan, she talks about wampum bracelets that Allen was going to wear in a dance. Grafton, "Woman's World."

[58] Susan B. Kaiser, *The Social Psychology of Clothing* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1985), 448. Originally defined by H.J. Gans in his 1979 article, "Symbolic Ethnicity: the Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2 (1): 1-20.

[59] "The Indian Poetess' Remarkable Contribution to 'Harper's Weekly,'" *Daily Spy*, undated clipping. Johnson described the meanings of the cuffs in her 1886 interview with Sara Jeanette Duncan. Grafton, "Woman's World."

[60] Allen, a successful young businessman with an insurance company, held 'wig-wam parties' where he dressed in his buckskins among his non-native friends. When his boss found out, he was fired. Stong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 52.

[61] Strong-Boag & Gerson point out what they suggest is the Johnson family's 'distance from Iroquois culture.' *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 116. It would be more accurate to say, 'their distance from traditional practices' as Haudenosaunee culture was formed of a variety of diverse groups with different social and political responses to dominant culture. The Johnson family was but one example of a segment *within* Haudenosaunee society that valued but did not necessarily practice traditional rites.

connections, Canadian and American.[62] In the Johnson home, photographic portraits like a cabinet card of two Chippewa men, with a hand-written Ojibwa label on the back, visually reinforced Pan-Indian associations (fig. 62). In their living room, daughter Evelyn points out, "the pictures were mostly those of Indians."[63]

The family identified with native individuals, Plains groups in particular, who still had a visible traditional ethnicity, but also with fictional characterizations that reflected a similar vision such as 'Minnehaha.' As adults, the Johnson siblings continued relating to visual symbols that suggested traditional native cultures. Thus, Allen sent postcards to Pauline of Minnehaha or "The War Canoe" and Pauline collected similar types of images and postcards (figs. 63 a & b). Allen and Henry Beverly's symbolic ethnicity in dress and photographs was primarily a personal expression but Pauline, taking on a public role with intermediary aspects similar to her father's, knew as Susan Kaiser explains, that the "way people perceive their cultural identities and the way others perceive them do not always coincide"[64] and she combined elements meaningful to her (symbols of her own family and tribal heritage) that were also "unambiguous cues of ethnicity."[65]

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[62] Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 39. For example, in 1840, Chief Smoke Johnson (the children's grandfather) spoke to a gathering of Ontario tribes. (These meetings and the connections being made were the formative roots for what would become the Pan-Indian Associations of the twentieth century.) Allan, the only one of the children to receive a native name at birth, was given the Ojibway name Wawanosh in honour of a guest. Pauline Johnson detailed how natives of any nation or tribe (but only natives) could take part in the annual Six Nations Industrial Fair at Ohsweken. E. Pauline Johnson, "The Iroquois of the Grand River," *Harper's Weekly*, 23 June, 1894 (New York).

[63] Evelyn H.C. Johnson, Dorothy Keen and Martha McKeon. "Chiefswood," *Chiefswood* (unpublished memoirs, Ontario Archives), 4. These were apparently large full-color portraits of famous chiefs and warriors. During my visit to Chiefswood in November of 2001 none of the artwork was available for viewing as it was being sent off for restoration. I was able to take a brief glimpse inside the wrapping of what turned out to be one of the 'Indian' pictures Evelyn Johnson described. Large, in bright colors, it appeared to be of a portrait of a Plains Indian chief in full war-bonnet regalia. Curator Paula Whitlow indicated to me that the images were (in part) intended to make more traditional Six Nations individuals comfortable in the Johnson's ornate Victorian home. This suggests that even traditional Haudenosaunee who were not physically traveling or actively taking part in Pan-Indian events were identifying cross-culturally, particularly with native tribes less acculturated than their own.

Among the first elements Johnson added to the buckskin dress were Haudenosaunee silver brooches. Visible in a portrait of Onondaga Seth Newhouse from the Grand River reserve, Haudenosaunee men and women used large numbers of silver brooches to decorate their costumes (fig. 64). [66] At the most prominent position on her costume (the center front of her neckline) Johnson pinned two key signifiers of her native identity, the "Wolf of the Council Fire" and beside it "The National badge of the Iroquois,"[67] dually symbolizing her family's Wolf Clan and her people, the Haudenosaunee (fig. 65).[68] Johnson's silver pins were treasured family articles brought from the United States to Canada following the Revolutionary War and she had used them decoratively at least a decade before her theatrical career began.[69] In a portrait from the 1870s, Johnson's high-necked European-style dress is pinned with the same two brooches, the 'Wolf' also known as the 'Protective Totem' or /Guardian Owl' and the National badge, also known as the 'Brooch of Brotherhood' (fig. 66).[70] These two pins were the focus of two (out-of-four) articles on Haudenosaunee brooches Johnson composed for *The Boy's World* in 1910.[71] Her pieces demonstrated a detailed knowledge about the history of the pins, their design and some of their symbolic meanings in Haudenosaunee culture.[72] She wrote that for the Mohawk, the "silver brooch with its unusual fastening is the one thing that must never be omitted from your costume if you make any pretense at all to distinction among your fellow-men."[73]

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[64] Kaiser, *Social Psychology* (1985), 448.

[65] Ibid. Kaiser says, "for this form of cultural expression to be meaningful, wearers need to be straightforward in their clothing selections, selecting unambiguous cues of ethnicity."

[66] Carrie A. Lyford, *Iroquois Crafts* (Ohsweken, ON: Iroquois Publishing and Craft Supplies,1994), 69.

[67] Ibid. This is similar to Seth Newhouse's presentation. Among all the kinds of different brooches on his costume, he has placed the 'National Badge of the Iroquois' at his center neckline.

[68] When Johnson re-fitted the blouse of her costume around the turn of the century she moved the National Badge of the Iroquois to the center of her neckline and framed it on either side with two 'Wolf' brooches.

[69] The Loyalist Haudenosaunee allied to Britain lost their homes and property during the war but were given land in Canada for their loyalty to the British. These brooches were part of a large cache buried for safekeeping during the war, then exhumed and brought to the Grand River by Johnson's great-grandmother.

Elements of Johnson's costume such as the knife and scalps that corresponded to a masculine noble savage image were not based on an eponymous warrior but on family stories and tribal pride. The knife was her father's and carved with his initials, but it also had a particular tribal history for it came to him as a relic of one of the last 'blood feuds' on the Grand River reserve, a story which fascinated Johnson and about which she wrote several times. Wearing the knife also imitated her beloved grandfather who "every morning when he had finished dressing he fastened his knife to the leather strap about his waist under his coat."[74] The Huron scalp also came from her grandfather John Smoke Johnson, a renowned warrior (veteran of the War of 1812 credited with starting the fire that burned Buffalo) who was granted a 'Pine Tree' Chieftainship by the Haudenosaunee.[75] From an early age Johnson loved to spend time with him and "one of the things she often asked him was, 'Have you killed many men, grandfather?' He would reply, 'No, not many, baby, not many, only four or five.'"[76] When she later acquired a Sioux scalp, largely because of her family's traditional loyalty to the British and their bravery in battle, she counted 'coup' (capturing the personal attribute of a worthy warrior) in a contemporary manner.[77]

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[70] A mid-to-late nineteenth century photographic portrait of a woman identified as 'Eliza Hill' at the Woodland Cultural Center also shows the pins worn with a European style dress. These "tiny, delicate types of pins used so profusely by the women in the olden days were known as 'beauty pins.'" R. Gabor, *Costume of the Iroquois* (Ohsweken, ON: Iroqcrafts,1993),17.

[71] In her article on the Wolf brooch, she included hand-drawn diagrams breaking down the design into its symbolic elements, the wolf, the owl and the inverted heart, explaining each. This article has been included in a new anthology of Johnson's writing edited by Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag, *E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake: Collected Poems and Selected Prose* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 235.

[72] Erica Aigner-Varoz points out that the "details, symbolism, and anecdotes Johnson provides are the most specific and elaborate found in print today." Erica E. Aigner-Varoz, "Suiting Herself: E. Pauline Johnson's Constructions of Indian Identity and Self" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 2001),184.

[73] E. Pauline Johnson. "The Silver Craft of the Mohawks: The Protective Totem," *Boys' World*, 2 April 1910, 3.

Thrown over the shoulder of her costume was a red blanket, the Johnson family's former piano cover (see fig. 99). Not until the 1920s were red blankets key attributes of Indian princesses but, for Johnson, they were part of a long tradition in Haudenosaunee culture. In 1710, portraits painted in England of four visiting sachems depicted each one draped with a red blanket (Fig. 67a). An 1805 painting of the war leader Joseph Brant showed him wearing a similar blanket (Fig. 67b). Flanked by George and John Smoke Johnson, Prince Arthur knelt upon Pauline's red blanket during his investiture as a Haudenosaunee chief. Finally, of course, there was her father who "used to throw [the blanket] over his shoulder when he wore his Indian costume."[78]

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[74] Evelyn Johnson, Dorothy Keen and Martha McKeon. "John S. Johnson Our Grandfather (1792-1886)," *Chiefswood* (unpublished memoirs, Ontario Archives), 6.

[75] The 50 chiefs of the Haudenosaunee council were hereditary positions. When the British requested that John Smoke Johnson's significant war contributions be honoured, the Haudenosaunee created a special lifetime, non-hereditary chieftainship (a Pine Tree chief) for him. John Smoke was highly respected as the speaker of the Haudenosaunee council and was nicknamed the 'Mohawk Warbler' for his renowned oratorical ability.

[76] Evelyn Johnson, "John S. Johnson," 5.

[77] Johnson had always wanted a Sioux scalp because she particularly esteemed the Sioux's fierce reputation as warriors and their various defeats of the Americans. The scalp she acquired was one of 17 belonging to a Blood chieftain Johnson saw at Fort McLeod. She acquired it with the help of a North West Mounted Police inspector who acted as an intermediary. The chief was a great 'Britisher' and only gave it to Johnson because her family had fought for the British rather than the Americans. Johnson, "Trails of the Old Tillicums."

Johnson's wampum belts, sometimes worn at her waist, were historic and the most tribally significant articles of her costume (fig. 68).[79] Wampum, white and purple beads made of carved shell, were used by East Coast tribes for ornamentation and trading currency but when woven into belts became a pictorial form of contract.[80] Johnson called wampum belts "the history, literature, seal and coinage of the Iroquois"[81] and on stage and in interviews educated non-natives about wampum's meanings and uses. She titled her first book *The White Wampum*, symbolizing peace. In the introduction Johnson emphasized wampum as an aboriginal equivalent to literary tradition in colonial culture, stating, "As wampums to the Redman, so to the Poet are his songs; chiselled alike from that which is the purest of his possessions, woven alike with meaning into belt and book, fraught alike with the corresponding message of peace, the breathing of tradition, the value of more than coin."[82] Wampum also carried a particular familial significance as Johnson's adopted name Tekahionwake (originally her great-grandfather's) meant 'double wampum.'[83]

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[78] Evelyn Johnson, "George Henry Martin Johnson," 27.

[79] Johnson wampum belts would form an interesting subject for further investigation. All of the belts in Johnson's earlier photographs appear to have been the smaller, white type Johnson called a 'lady's belt'. It is clear, however, from several reviews and articles that Johnson also described and/or displayed one or more larger belts (one possibly a 'league belt' signifying an important treaty). Like the belt held in figure 67a. these were usually too heavy to wear. Only in a photograph taken towards the end of her performing career is one of these visible, held in Johnson's hand (fig. 99). The wampum belts were the most monetarily valuable articles Johnson owned and at several points while financially insolvent she used them as short-term surety for loans by selling them to friends, intending to buy them back later. This backfired in several cases such when one of her wampum belts ended up in the collection of the Canadian Institute (later to become part of the Royal Ontario Museum). Despite an earnest letter to the purchaser, she was not allowed to buy it back. Miss E. Pauline Johnson, letter to Mr. Baylor, 20 Aug. 1906. (See fig. 15)

[80] Cayuga Tammy Rahr describes wampum belts as "official, historical records of significant religious, social, and political events entered into by the Haudenosaunee" and points out that "treaties were not considered valid until wampum belts were exchanged." Tammy Rahr,"The Hiawatha Belt: Unity Among Nations," *Peace X Peace*, http://www.peacexpeace.org/peacepapers/rahr.html; accessed 15 Sept. 2003.

[81] P.A.H., "Tekahionwake," *The Sketch*, 13 June 1894.

Symbolic ethnicity includes elements both of the personal and of the public. Visibility is important and Susan Kaiser points out "wearers need to be straightforward in their clothing selections" to communicate across cultural boundaries.[84] Johnson went a step further. On stage, she often specifically explained different elements of her costume with their history and meaning, using it as a kind of 'primer' for non-natives on aspects of Mohawk and native cultures.[85] But symbolic ethnicity can also provide "a sense of symbolic self-completion" for the individual.[86] Johnson, seeking connections to her own past and traditions while living a modern lifestyle in a colonial society, carried traditional objects with her that would "cause an ethnologist to turn green with envy."[87] Enacted differently by each member of the family, this collecting of 'Indian relics' was a material and emotional connection to heritage and a sense of themselves as Mohawk, Haudenosaunee and 'Indian.'[88] For Johnson, the connection was not just to heritage but also to people. She enjoyed using and being surrounded by these objects in her everyday life because she emotionally related them to memories and people she loved. Shortly before her death her small hospital room "was decorated with her most precious possessions – her father's dagger, her Onondaga turtleshell medicine rattle… her costume."[89] Johnson own sense of her native identity as authentically expressed in her costume was confirmed by her 1900 letterhead which described her "In Dramatic Recitals of her Own Works in Correct Costume" (fig. 69).

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[82] E. Pauline Johnson, *The White Wampum* (London: J. Lane, 1895), preface.

[83] The original Tekahionwake was the singular name of Johnson's great-grandfather. According to sister Evelyn's account, when his parents brought him for baptism at the age of four, they wanted a surname and upon the interjection of Sir William Johnson (British Superintendent of Indian Affairs) took the surname Johnson for him. Although not customary in Haudenosaunee culture, it is clear that Johnson and her siblings considered Tekahionwake to be their native surname, perhaps a practice originating from this original baptism whereby both names were maintained dually within the family itself. This would be particularly appropriate considering the meaning of the name, which is 'Double Wampum,' 'Double River' or 'Double Life.'

[84] Kaiser, *Social Psychology* (1985), 448.

[85] Johnson sometimes gave quite a detailed explanation. Based on an 1896 performance in Grand Rapids, Michigan, a journalist described her league belt and what it meant, her father's dagger and its inscription 'Never draw me without reason nor sheathe me without honor,' her fire bag of wampum and her brooches that were "hammered from coins into symbolic Iroquois jewellery…Four of the brooches were trophies taken during the Huron wars of 1646 when the Mohawks exterminated the Hurons and killed the Jesuit fathers. A brooch of dreams, a friendship brooch, in design representing the warmth of the sun; a double heart under a crown, emblematic of friendship by the ties of blood and a hunter's brooch." "Mohawk Princess," unidentified newspaper, Nov. 1896 (Grand Rapids, Michigan).

[86] Susan B. Kaiser, *The Social Psychology of Clothing: Symbolic Appearances in Context*. (New York: Macmillian Publishing,1990), 536.

Johnson's symbolic ethnicity had family precedents but there were also other women, speaking actively on native issues, who were authenticating their native heritage through costume and portraiture. Sarah Winnemucca, a Paiute, was one of the earliest (fig. 70a). Born circa 1844 as her tribe was just coming into contact with Euro-Americans, Winnemucca, daughter of Chief Winnemucca of the Northern Paiute, was caught up in the rapidly changing circumstances challenging her people.[90] She regularly intervened in military, government and social situations attempting to affect government policies so as to better the Pauite's conditions.[91] Winnemucca lived at an important transitional time for the Paiute and descriptions of her show that she dressed appropriately for various settings, wearing calico dresses among her tribes people and fashionable Euro-American clothing when with Americans. Winnemucca and her siblings were part of a generation comfortable in European styles but on an 1879 East coast lecture tour speaking about the difficulties of the Paiute she, like Johnson, created an 'Indian princess' costume to wear for presentations and studio portraits that were sold at her lectures (fig. 70b). In 1883, another costumed image, worn during her 1883-84 speaking tour appeared as the author portrait in her book *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (fig. 70c). But neither beaded nor fringed dress had any particular Paiute precedent, past or contemporary. The extravagant Plains-style beading visible on her costume was likely never used since fringed smoked buckskin appeared for only a brief intermediary period (the

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[87] "Poetess of the Iroquois," *The Chicago Tribune*, 28 January 1897.

[88] Allen decorated his rented bachelor apartments with Haudenosaunee artifacts and Evelyn collected a variety of native objects that she eventually donated to government museums. Aware that many traditional articles were being stolen by unethical collectors (like the American guest who 'bought' the original *Iroquois Book of Rites* for $10 from their 90-year old grandfather) and traditional aspects of culture lost (some subsumed in modern practices and others legislated against) their collecting practices retained physical objects of their heritage. Johnson's written descriptions about practices like the White Dog sacrifice also orally preserved ceremonies being banned by government edict.

[89] Gray, *Flint and Feather*, 380.

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[90] The Northern Paiute (who called themselves the Numa) lived in the areas that later became California, Nevada, Utah, Oregon, and Arizona.

[91] Risking her own life Winnemucca saved her family during the Bannock War. She sought the replacement of the colonial agent system with native leadership and pursued a safe, appropriate and productive homeland for her people by presenting "the Paiute cause to presidents, secretaries of the interior, army generals…legislators, senators and Indian agents." Sally Zanjani, *Sarah Winnemucca* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 301. She also testified before Congress and used lectures, interviews and a book she authored in an attempt to sway public opinion and government. Despite her desperate efforts Winnemucca's attempts were often heartbreakingly unsuccessful (both for herself and her tribe) because of political manoeuvrings, corrupt Indian agents, social and political policies antithetical to the needs of the Paiute and a federal government that made promises it did not keep. As an interpreter and intermediary, Winnemucca was often tragically caught between two cultures, receiving promises from governments and individuals for which she was then held responsible by her own people. On a local level, she started her own school for Paiute children, incorporating their language and culture, at a time when forced assimilation through boarding school education was the standard. For an excellent critical biography of this native woman and leader see Sally Zanjani's biography.

Paiute traditionally used yucca, cliffrose bark and simple unsmoked buckskin) and by the 1880s had been replaced with settler-style clothing.[92]

In 1884 an eight-year old Yankton Sioux, Gertrude Simmons (Bonnin), tempted by red apples and a ride on an "iron horse," travelled to White's Manual Labor Institute in Wabash, Indiana. It was her first step on a complex and difficult cross-cultural journey. Struggling to adapt to harsh new rules, a language she did not understand and cultural practices she often found humiliating, she was increasingly alienated from family and tribe by distance and lack of shared experiences. The estranged young girl eventually became a prominent activist for native issues and founder of the National Council of American Indians. A talented speaker, writer and violinist, she took the Sioux name Zitkala Sa (Red Bird) and published articles exposing the degrading and alienating experiences of Indian boarding schools. Zitakala Sa who normally wore contemporary American styles, (fig. 71a) eventually began wearing Sioux ceremonial dress when speaking about contemporary native issues (fig. 71b). When her book of Sioux myths, *American Indian Stories* was published in 1921, her portrait displayed a braided-hair image and beaded buckskin dress (fig. 71c).

The author portraits of Okanogan/Colville Christine Quintasket, one of the first Native American women to publish a novel, show a similar hybridity. Among the first generation of her people to grow up on a reservation, Mourning Dove (her literary name self-chosen in 1914) was exposed to rapid acculturation. Fashionable in hairstyle and gown in her studio portrait, she appeared with braided hair and in costume for the frontispiece of her book *Co-Ge-Wea: The Half Blood* (fig. 72 a & b). Possibly traditional, even ceremonial, her dress is still a dramatic example since photographs from the Colville reservation show that by the end of the nineteenth century even fancy dress, with embroidery, beading and traditional accessories, was made of cloth rather than buckskin.

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[92] Isabel T. Kelly and Richard F. Van Valkenburgh, *Paiute Indians II* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976), 59-61.

Johnson, Winnemucca, Zitkala-Sa and Mourning Dove were women "establish[ing] their own identities in a cultural borderland."[93] Similar to the roles of native women in the fur trade during previous generations, these women were operating in a new cross-cultural frontier and they were caught on the horns of a dilemma, which modern-day Cherokee Rayna Green calls the Pocahontas Perplex.[94] Up-to-date women, their attitudes, lifestyles and experiences transgressed colonial expectations, and, by so doing, their ethnicity and authenticity became contested. The Indian princess was "a symbol for the oppression of her own people" [95] but she was still better than the alternative. Like every other stereotype, the Indian maiden had both an idealised and a vilified form. *The Indian Girl of Story / The Indian Girl of Fact*, a drawing from Bill Nye's 1894 satiric *History of the United States* illustrates the oppositional types (fig.

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[93] A. Lavonne Brown Ruoff, "Early Native American Women Authors: Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, Sarah Winnemucca, S. Alice Callahan, E. Pauline Johnson, and Zitkala-Sa," in *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers: A Critical Reader,* ed. Karen L. Kilcup (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 100. Ruoff is speaking specifically about Zitkala-Sa and other Native American autobiographers.

[94] Green says, "the Indian woman is between a rock and a hard place…her image is freighted with such ambivalence that she has little room to move." Green, "Pocahontas Perplex," 713.

[95] Rountree, "Pocahontas," 27.

73).[96] *The Indian Girl of Story* with her Caucasian features, flowing hair and feathered adornments is part of the Indian princess tradition but the *Indian Girl of Fact* presents the most debased stereotype of an Indian woman: as squalid, servile and coarse - the 'squaw.' Whether in literature, illustrations or photographs, the squaw combined all the vilest aspects attributed to native women but particularly focused on her supposed role as drudge, filthy personal habits and a debased sexuality.[97] In publicly proclaiming their 'Indianness' these women risked being labelled 'squaw.'

In academia, phrases like the "rationalization of European hegemony"[98] are used to describe the intent of the squaw stereotype. But passive language – proper 'academic style' – has created and maintains an emotional barrier between those who were wounded and ourselves. Even words like 'offensive,' 'derogatory,' or 'degrading' cannot begin to express the racist and sexist reality these women confronted daily. Rape, physical abuse, arrest, imprisonment, abandonment and the loss of reputation and livelihood were just some consequences for native women.[99] It was dangerous for Johnson, Winnemucca, Zitkala-Sa and Mourning Dove to publicly identify as native.

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[96] Image used in Elizabeth S. Bird, "Introduction: Constructing the Indian, 1830s-1900s," in *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*, ed. Elisabeth S. Bird (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996), 6.

[97] Johnson repeatedly tackled the squaw stereotype in her writing. She contradicted the "widespread error, that Indian men look down upon and belittle their women" by pointing out the role of clan matrons who choose the chiefs in Haudenosaunee society, saying, "not ALL civilized races honor their women as highly." E. Pauline Johnson, "The Iroquois Women of Canada," *The Brantford Expositor*, 8 Oct. 1895.

[98] Lilianne Ernestine Krosenbrink-Gelissen, *Sexual Equality as an Aboriginal Right: The Native Women's Association of Canada and the Constitutional Process on Aboriginal Matters, 1982-1987* (Saarbrucken: Verlag breitenbach Publishers, 1991), 38.

[99] The evidence of contemporary court trials demonstrates racist and sexist biases in which women were often held responsible (even for their own rape) or where their witnesses were

For example, young men dangling a large banner with the word 'squaw' written upon it interrupted Zitkala Sa's speech at the Indiana State Oratorical contest. Despite the public attack she continued and managed to win second place. Winnemucca, who specifically named unscrupulous Indian agents and political appointees, came under particular assault through letters defaming her character with aspersions of sexual immorality, gambling and drunkenness - attacks that blunted some of her political effectiveness. Newspaper articles sometimes painted her as princess and sometimes as an alcoholic or unclean squaw. She was physically attacked several times and only managed to avoid rape by her swift response.[100]

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automatically discounted because they were 'squaws.' For examples see Jean Barman, "Taming Aboriginal Sexuality: Gender, Power, and Race in British Columbia, 1850-1900," *BC Studies* 115/116 (Autumn/Winter 1997-98) and Erica Smith "'Gentleman, This is No Ordinary Trial': Sexual Narratives in the Trial of the Reverend Corbett, Red River, 1863," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, eds. Jennifer S.H. Brown & Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1996). These devastating consequences occurred not just on the individual and personal levels but on larger judicial and national levels. When Cree chiefs in 1883 wrote to the Prime Minister that their young women were resorting to prostitution (something previously unknown among their people) because of starvation, officials attributed the situation not to desperate need but to the "inherent immorality" of native women. Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West (*Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press,1997), 187. Prejudicial federal legislation under the Indian Act in 1892 then made it easier to arrest and jail women of native origin. The squaw image continues to haunt aboriginal women's lives and experiences as Janice Acoose demonstrates in a particularly powerful presentation on the context of stereotyping in the assault and murder of Helen Betty Osborne in 1971. Janice Acoose/ Misko-Kisikawihkwe (Red Sky Woman), *Iskwewak Kay' Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princesses or Squaws* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1995), 69-71. Acoose's chapter, "Fenced in and Forced to Give Up: Images of Indigenous Women in Selected Non-Indigenous Writer's Fiction," critiques contemporary literary presentations of the squaw and is incredibly disturbing in its ramifications.

[100] Winnemucca describes these incidents in her book *Life Among the Piutes*. Brigitte Georgi-Findlay examines a subtext of sexual violence towards native women in Winnemucca's book and points out that Winnemucca drew "upon images of genteel Victorian womanhood by presenting herself, within the context of feminine respectability, as a lady. In appearance and manners, distancing herself from the image of the erotic or even lewd Native American 'squaw.'" Brigitte Georgi-Findlay, "The Frontiers of Native American Women's Writing: Sarah Winnemucca's *Life Among the Piutes,"* in *New Voices in Native American Literary Criticism,* ed. Arnold Krupat (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 244.

In the 1970s, historian Peter L. Neufeld considered what Johnson might have faced performing in areas that had only recently been embroiled in conflict and warfare with natives. While doing research on two rural Manitoba weekly newspapers, he asked the question, "Could it be that to many Prairie editors and to many other residents as well, she was not 'Pauline Johnson, the famous poet ' but instead 'Pauline Johnson, the squaw?'"[101] Sarah Carter has demonstrated that the image of the squaw was particularly politicised in Canada during the period of Johnson's career as the Canadian government reinforced a stereotyped view of native women to protect its own image. For example, in 1886, Samuel Trivett, a missionary on the Blood reserve in southern Alberta, complained to a correspondent from *The Mail* of Toronto about the licentious behaviour of white men – that they were buying and selling native women, 'using' them and then deserting them and their children. He implicated both government agents and the Northwest Mounted Police. The alleged immorality of government representatives added fuel to the criticism of Indian affairs that had been growing since the Northwest Rebellion.[102] The government's response was not to deny the allegations but, as they were doing with issues of health and poverty, to shift the blame to aboriginal women.[103] Supported in this by the media, native women were represented as licentious and commodified within their own cultures as objects for barter or sale. The editor of the *MacLeod Gazette* argued that whatever immorality there might have been came from the women themselves and from the customs of their society, that they were prostitutes before they went to live with white men, who did not encourage this behaviour but....[104]

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[101] Dr. Peter L. Neufeld, "Pauline Johnson, The Poet," *The Native Voice*, 18 August 1978, 4.

[102] For a fuller rendition of this scandal see Carter, *Capturing Women*, 181.

[103] Officials were aware poverty and poor housing conditions on reserves were serious problems not attributable to native women but despite this "in official public statements, the tendency was to ascribe blame to the women rather than to draw attention to conditions that would injure the reputation of government administrators." Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women*, 180.

Neufeld's examination of editorial responses to Johnson's visit in two small Manitoba towns reveals an otherwise hidden aspect to her career. When comparing the enthusiasm of one newspaper editor to another's lukewarm response (despite an otherwise almost unbridled eagerness for other poets' visits), Neufeld determined to interview the unenthusiastic editor's son.

> Because I knew he was old enough to recall this poet's 1905 visit at least, and perhaps his father's reaction to it, I asked him whether he remembered Pauline Johnson ever visiting Minnedosa. "No", he replied. "I knew quite a few Johnsons but can't say I remember her." Not one of the Johnsons from around here," I countered, "the famous Canadian poet, Pauline Johnson."
>
> "Oh, the squaw! Why didn't you say so? Yes, I remember her coming here. Just that she came through, nothing else."[105]

Johnson did not publicize this kind of attitude and most of the material remaining today focuses on positive reviews of her literary success and public acceptance but this racist mind-set was clearly something she faced regularly.

In contrast to the degenerate image of the squaw, the princess was passionate yet pure, sexual but "contradictorily virginal."[106] As Rayna Green has shown, as "some abstract, noble Princess…she has power as a symbol. As the Squaw, a depersonalized object of scornful convenience, she is powerless."[107] While the original Pocahontas's voice and experience may have been appropriated, her voice silenced and replaced by the colonial narrative about her, in plays and texts she did have a voice.[108] It was only possible because of misperceived status and it was an appropriated voice; but it was also the only speaking part for a native female. Johnson, Winnemucca, Zitkala-Sa and Mourning Dove's answer to the Pocahontas Perplex was to appropriate the physical image and then rewrite and re-speak the part with new words - their own.[109]

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[104] Ibid.,184. Negative attitudes towards native women infiltrated all aspects of culture. In a study of nineteenth century literature, Asebrit Sundquist found that "in the second part of the nineteenth century...there is an increase of descriptions of evil, unintelligent, rebellious, and dangerous female Indian characters." Asebrit Sundquist, *Pocahontas & Co. The Fictional American Indian Woman in Nineteenth-Century Literature: A Study of Method* (New Jersey: Humanities Press International,1987),165,

[105] Neufeld, "Pauline Johnson," 4.

[106] Green, "Pocahontas Perplex," 710. Green indicates that "both the Princess and the squaw stand as sexual symbols, though of a different typology...comparable to the Virgin-Whore

Often titled the 'Paiute Princess,' Winnemucca used the visual characterization to speak and write words that would never come from the passive Indian Princess stereotype: "For shame! For shame! You dare to cry out liberty when you hold us in places against our will" or to argue for the removal of the agency system.[110] Speaking improvisationally, she moved her audiences

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explication of the white female image." Rayna Green, "The Only Good Indian, The Image of the Indian in American Vernacular Culture" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University,1973), 376.

[107] Green, "Pocahontas Perplex," 713.

[108] On stage or in novels, as the female personification of the 'noble savage,' the princess might proclaim in Shakespearian tongue or in the poetic metaphors of 'Hiawathese.' Ray Allen Billington, *Land of Savagery / Land of Promise: the European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Norton, 1981), 111.

[109] Each of these women was unique and had her own individual motivations and way of presenting. For the purposes of this thesis I have not focused on their differences but their similarities. I chose Winnemucca, Zitkala-Sa and Mourning Dove because, like Johnson, all of them were writers. They lived in the same time period and each of them used the image of the Indian princess. Also, all were advocates who simultaneously presented aspects of their tribal heritage and culture and challenged colonial society through their own words. Other native women also performed the 'Indian princess' well into the 20th century. Among these were the Penobscot entertainer Lucy Nicolar and the dancer Molly Spotted Elk, Oklahoma Creek Tsianina who used song to bring attention to traditional native arts, Nakota linguist Ella Deloria and Lakota storyteller/educator Rosebud Yellow Robe.

[110] Sally Zanjani, *Sarah Winnemucca*, 219 & 236.

powerfully, often to laughter and tears. Whether in performance or on the written page, Winnemucca was redefining the Indian Princess by questioning and challenging American systems and skewering 'respectable' and significant men, such as the unscrupulous Indian agents who were defrauding the Paiute.[111] Zitkala-Sa and Mourning Dove both recorded traditional aspects of their respective cultures. Zitkala-Sa symbolized her ethnicity while lobbying for changes in government policies including the right of citizenship for natives. Mourning Dove, interested in contemporary media like film and popular fiction, fought negative stereotypes of natives through her human characterizations and used modern forms to promote Salish principles.[112]

Similarly, there were few pieces in Johnson's repertoire that could be made to comfortably fit audiences' views of the stereotypical Indian maiden. The most striking aspect of Johnson's performance was the contrast between her on-stage character and the stereotype. Unlike the regulation Indian maiden who was usually in love with a non-native to the point that she was "treacherous to her own people,"[113]in Johnson's live presentation it was the native woman who left her racist non-native husband in "A Red Girl's Reasoning" or who killed her faithless fiancée in "As it Was In The Beginning" or who, as a Mohawk woman captured by a Huron warrior, pretended love and then murdered her captor to escape with honour intact. Unlike the regulation Indian maiden, these women did not submit either to violence, war, attempted rape or even the coercive imposition of stereotypes and double standards by a beloved spouse.[114] They did not die, either fatally struck down or in suicidal despair. They were not the 'dog-like,' 'submissive' creatures whom Johnson had unmercifully critiqued. They challenged not just stereotypes, but the righteousness of colonial actions and attitudes.

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[111] Winnemucca spoke extemporaneously and never gave the same talk twice but she clearly communicated through particular bits of stage business such as when she represented the Indian agent Major Rhinehart by pretending to have one arm longer than the other, with one hand beckoning the Paiute to be honest while with the other hand he reached behind them to steal. Zanjani, *Sarah Winnemucca*, 200.

[112] Dee Garceau, "Mourning Dove: Gender and Cultural Mediation," in *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives,* ed. Theda Perdue (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001),109.

[113] Johnson stated plainly that this was "detestable and dishonourable." E. Pauline Johnson, "A Strong Race Opinion: On the Indian Girl in Fiction," *Sunday Globe,* 22 May 1892, 1.

Clearly identified by the words on one of her programs, the image most commonly used during Johnson's early recital career showed her as a native woman exhorting her husband to defeat Canadian soldiers (fig. 74). The performed poem, 'A Cry from an Indian Wife' was often reprinted in newspaper descriptions of her performances. It provided a striking alternate view of the Riel Rebellion for as Sheila Johnston points out, "Unlike other poems of the era, it did not celebrate the glamour of war; it was written in the first person-and in a woman's voice at that; and it unequivocally stated a native point of view."[115] The 'Cry from an Indian Wife' image was repeated in many locations but in all of

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[114] Almost immediately after her rise to public fame in 1892, Johnson attacked colonial society's devaluation of native marriage rites in a short story entitled "A Red Girl's Reasoning." Then on-stage, playing her mixed-heritage heroine Christine (whose written description bore a striking physical resemblance to Johnson) she dramatized the narrative. She assaulted the debasement of native women as commodities by inverting native and non-native marriage customs. As Christine she challenged, "Why should I recognize the rites of your nation when you do not acknowledge the rites of mine?" Johnson inverted the stereotype, suggesting that there was no more validity to the Christian wedding ceremony than to native marriage rites and implied their equality – a difference in style perhaps, but not in meaning and legitimacy. This was politically challenging because marriages made according to the 'custom of the country' were now illegal. The story's format was also distinctive for Lavonne Brown Ruoff says, "Few women authors of the period broke this sharply with the domestic-romance formula…In Johnson's story, marriage is subordinated and then scrapped when it interferes with the self-respect and identity acceptance of the heroine." A. Lavonne Brown Ruoff, "Justice for Indians and Women: The Protest Fiction of Alice Callahan and Pauline Johnson," *World LiteratureToday* 66, no. 2 (1992): 253.

[115] Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*,104.

Johnson's native imagery at this early stage and then later, as 'Tekahionwake in-performance,' she appeared in dramatic poses replicating live presentations (fig. 75). Without reifying text, knowledge of the individual characterizations are now lost but were visible to those who viewed her performances.

Like the great dramatic actresses of her day, the power of her performance made an impact on her audiences. The earliest reviews mention the "scorn, contempt and sarcasm" she was capable of projecting from the stage.[116] People remembered the distinctive content and style of her recitals clearly, years and sometimes even decades later. After her death, E. Ryerson Young, wrote about experiencing Johnson's first presentation:

> ...there is no forgetting that defiant, pathetic Indian speech flung amongst us Anglo-Saxons with such hauteur and fire. We were more than entertained. The troubles with the Indians and half-breeds of the North-West rebellion of 1885 were still fresh in the minds of all. These wrongs of the crushed, the defeated, the despised minority, had found a voice...and the victorious, complaisant, intellectual whites were startled and the arrows of conviction flew and awakened serious thought, if they did not bring penitence.[117]

Another writer, Uncle Thomas, said, "the deep love of her race, the feeling for their sufferings and resentment at their wrongs, finds expression...and the large audience was made to feel that there were fears and sympathies, longings and heart-breakings in the tents of the Indians as well as in the homes from which the volunteers marched."[118] Following the same performance described by Young and Uncle Thomas, a soldier who fought in the Riel Rebellion came to Johnson and confessed that "When I heard you recite that poem I never felt so ashamed in my life at the part I had taken."[119]

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[116] Quote from an unidentified Toronto newspaper, 21 February 1892.

[117] E. Ryerson Young. 'E Pauline Johnson: Indian Princess and Poetess," *Onward,* 19 April 1913, 122. One journalist took Johnson's presentation as the starting point to write about the apparent acceptability of unethical and immoral practices when dealing with non-Caucasian races and the working class. He said, "when Miss Johnson stood before the audience and said 'the land is ours' it was enough to cause a shrinkage of the conscience...We look upon the Indian and his lands as a railway company does upon a municipality – a legitimate and unreasonably thankless object of plunder." This journalist considered Johnson's presentation, a "sharp reminder of how easy we relegate the golden rule to the background." "Business Morality," *Times,* undated clipping.

Johnson's ongoing performances, both in writing and on stage defined her portraiture. Differences in the dramatic representations by famous performers, like the classical and restrained image of "Rachel as Phedre" or the tragically expressive image of "Bernhardt as Phedre," portrayed individual performances of the same role,[120] but viewers also differentiated between them because they were familiar with the actresses' distinctive interpretations (fig. 76 a & b). Likewise, the descriptions, reviews, articles and audiences' actual experience of Johnson's words, written or performed, eventually dominated their experience of her image. An overview of Johnson's career by a Toronto *Globe* journalist writing at the end of her life in 1912 summed it up well, saying "the spirit of rebellion breathing through those passionate verses, representing the redman's protest, has formed the basis of the public estimate of [her] work ever since."[121] Strong, active, loyal to their own people – the native females Johnson performed de-regulated the Indian maiden stereotype. By 1895, her appearance in character as Tekahionwake/E. Pauline Johnson for many evoked a revisionist portrayal of a native woman who was "intensely sarcastic" and "passionately devoted…to her own people."[122]

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[118] Uncle Thomas, editorial, *The Globe,* c. 1892.
[119] Evelyn Johnson, "Emily Pauline Johnson," 12.
[120] MacPherson, *The Modern Portrait*, 87. MacPherson discusses how pose and gesture in these two portraits reflected Rachel and Bernhard's individual acting styles
[121] M.O. H., "Pauline Johnson's Poems," *The Globe,* 9 Nov. 1912. The author was addressing the impact of Johnson's first presentation of 'A Cry from An Indian Wife' over the following 20 years of her career.

Johnson needed a public image of Indianness and the Indian princess 'look,' re-interpreted through her own words and performances, allowed her to control the public representation of her ethnicity. She knew that romance of ancestry was a mixed blessing that shifted with people's individual perceptions of 'Indian.' Facing audiences who were an admixture of age, status, educational backgrounds, experiences and geography she knew that among those there to see and hear the poet - exotic, entertaining or otherwise - were those who saw only a squaw.[123] The Indian princess 'look' encouraged viewers to identify her as native (authenticating her ethnicity) while visually locating her at the opposite end of the spectrum from the squaw.

As Strong-Boag and Gerson have shown, "Growing up on the Grand River, Pauline Johnson had a first-hand view of women's ability to employ long-standing traditions as a source of power."[124] Whatever Johnson thought of her own misidentified status as "a princess among her own people…her father having been chief of the Mohawks,"[125] she took pride in Haudenosaunee examples of matriarchal power. As a clan matron Johnson's grandmother was one of 50 women who determined who would be chiefs on the ruling council. Her grandmother's successful nomination of Johnson's father over council objections demonstrated a personal agency and political power far greater than that possessed by a European royal princess.[126] Emulating that authority, Johnson reframed the Indian princess characterization stating, "There are many girls who have placed dainty red feet figuratively upon the white man's neck from the days of Pocahontas."[127] Her re-interpretation pictured the princess as a figure of agency and power, holding life in her hands, with the ability to conquer and control. She directly connected that vision to a contemporary woman, "little 'Bright Eyes,' who captured all Washington a few seasons ago"[128] thereby linking her vision of the Indian princess to social and political power.

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[122] Description of Johnson's presentation by female journalist Kit Coleman. Quoted in Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 139.

[123] Johnson's audiences (American, Canadian, and British) were incredibly diverse; from sophisticated urban viewers at the center of Empire, to small-town and frontier rural communities. There were disparate nationalities, occupations and lifestyles. Some viewers were natives, some had never seen a native individual in person while others had fought them in wars. One British Columbia audience included "miners, ranchers, cowboys, half-breeds, Indians." Mrs. W. Garland Foster quoted in Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 186.

[124] Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 45.

[125] "A Canadian-Indian Recital," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 July 1906. It was particularly misperceived because descent was matrilineal among the Haudenosaunee and her father's marriage to a non-member of the tribe broke the family descent of the chieftainship. Unlike European 'bloodlines,' the line of descent did not depend on 'race' for it remained unbroken through George Johnson's

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grandmother, Catherine Rollston, a Dutch woman taken captive as a teenager and adopted into the tribe. It was membership in the tribe, clan, and most importantly, one of the 50 chieftains' families that determined the role of clan matron.

[126] The council objected because they saw George's job as a government interpreter as a conflict of interest. His mother argued that they could accuse someone for something they had done but not for something they had not done. The council was also concerned because it would place both father (Smoke Johnson) and son George on the council at the same time and they might vote alike. George's mother did not give up her nomination and refused to name another chief, which would have deprived the Mohawks of one of their seats. George was accepted as a chief with the proviso that he would not vote as long as he was a government interpreter. In a London article Johnson described the role of chief matron, contrasting it to the lack of rights British women had in parliament: "The highest title known to us is that of 'chief matron.' It is borne by the eldest woman of each of the noble families. From her cradle-board she is taught to judge men and their intellectual qualities, their aptness for public life, and their integrity, so that when he who bears the title leaves his seat in council...she can use her wisdom and her learning in nominating his fittest successor...when he is installed...the chief matron may, if she so desires, enter the council-house and publicly make an address to the chiefs, braves, and warriors assembled, and she is listened to not only with attention, but respect. There are fifty matrons possessing this right in the Iroquois Confederacy. I have not yet heard of fifty white women even among those of noble birth who may speak and be listened to in the lodge of the law-makers here." E. Pauline Johnson, "The Lodge of the Lawmakers," *Daily Express,* 14 Aug. 1906, 4.

[127] E. Pauline Johnson, "Strong Race Opinion," 1.

[128] Ibid. Bright Eyes was the native name of Suzette LaFlesche, an Omaha activist who wrote and lectured about native issues in the United States. LaFlesche may also have presented in native dress (sources disagree) but she preferred to wear European-style clothing and use her

From the first recitation that electrified the audience at the Canadian Literature evening Johnson illustrated her activist words with vivid performance. Controlling her own words provided “a means to resist and an opportunity to reinvent,”[129] and Johnson often “asked the audience to consider her more as an author than an entertainer, as the selections rendered are the products of her own pen.”[130] Night by night, stage by stage, word by word Johnson rewrote and re-spoke the voice of the ‘Indian princess,’ infusing it with the political assertiveness of a Haudenosaunee clan matron.

When confronted by expectations of ‘Indianness,’ Johnson, like Winnemucca, Zitkala-Sa and Mourning Dove, symbolized heritage and ethnicity through ‘exaggerated’ aspects of dress to communicate across racist and sexist barriers.[131] No longer living in a ‘traditional’ manner, their symbolic ethnicity personally linked them to their heritage, and additionally, may have acted as personal encouragement (a kind of literal mnemonic device) in their commitment to speaking, writing and acting on behalf of themselves and others who shared a similar heritage. In a dominant culture that denigrated native peoples and was daily attempting to erase every aspect of their language and traditions, the

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customary name, Suzette. Non-natives, however, preferred to identify her as ‘Indian princess’ and call her Bright Eyes. When Henry Wadsworth Longfellow met her he declared her his ‘Minnehaha’.

[129] Kim Anderson, *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood* (Toronto: Second Story Press, 2000),40. Anderson considers writing a key form of resistance and says, “the earliest act of resistance for most Native women is to recognize and then challenge negative stereotypes.” Ibid., 139.

[130] “The Indian Poetess,” unidentified newspaper, undated. The William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University Library, The Pauline Johnson Archive.

[131] Kaiser, *Social Psychology of Clothing* (1985), 450.

wearing of their 'costumes' reclaimed ethnicity and visually asserted native cultural value.

With the exception of Winnemucca who already had a Pauite name, all of these women chose their own native names, consciously identifying themselves with a tribal heritage that was gradually being "subsumed by a broader identity as Indian."[132] Their Pan-Indian-influenced clothing expressed their increasing Pan-Indian sense of self and connections spanning tribal boundaries. Unlike their forebears, they did not operate solely out of tribal initiatives. Living in a transitional period for aboriginal peoples and in an enlarging world community, the positions they took on (in some ways symbolized by the act of their self-naming) represented shifting gender and social roles, in both native and non-native communities.

A multi-cultural woman inhabiting a social borderland, Johnson chose a visible public position mediating across communities and social barriers.[133] Wanting to "revise the dominant white assessment of tribal culture" [134] she sought a point of connection. The most rudimentary forms of communication involve listening and repeating back - mimicking. In some ways, that is an apt description of what Johnson did. She saw a form in dominant culture and repeated it back.

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[132] P. Jane Hafen, "Gertrude Simmons Bonnin: For the Indian Cause," in *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives,* ed. Theda Perdue (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 139.

[133] Gloria Anzaldua says that "the Borderlands are physically present wherever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle, and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy." Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands: The New Meztisa = La Frontera* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1991), preface.

[134] Lukens, Margo, "Zitkala-Sa (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin)," in *Native American Writers of the United States: Dictionary of Literary Biography Volume 175,* ed. Kenneth M. Roemer (Detroit: Gale Research, 1997), 336.

But it was not a simplistic mimicry of ethnographic colonial imagery, for she did not stop there. Homi Bhabha says, "mimicry *repeats* rather than *re-presents*."[135] Johnson did not simply repeat. She attempted a more complex communication. Through her actions, words and performances (her expression in the midst of the image), she re-presented herself to a culture that had already determined who she was supposed to be. She took the stereotype, mimicked it and then changed it, creating a dialogue in which she articulated who she was. She infused the new image with her own voice. Johnson spoke her own words. She harangued, she critiqued, she negotiated new words and new ideas. She did everything the passive, 'white'-ideal, regulation Indian maiden did not do. If "generic 'goodness' remove[d] the power of choice"[136] from the princess stereotype, Johnson (like these other women) reclaimed that power by active choice.

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[135] Homi Bhabha, ""Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World,* ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 155.

[136] Tilton, "Pocahontas," 29.

"As a person of mixed race, I embody some of the most unresolved contradictions in current human relations."

Heather Green
1994

Chapter Three

'WHITE RACE AND RED ARE ONE':

Demonstrating a 'Canadian Born' Identity with Photographs

> In the first part of the programme she appeared in picturesque Indian costume, and in every gesture, in the glances of her eye, in the varying expressions of her faces, and in the working of the different emotions and passions she was pure Indian. ...
>
> When Miss Johnson, in the second part of the programme, appeared in a rich and beautiful dress made in fashionable, civilized style, the impression upon the audiences was entirely changed. People then thought she must surely be at least almost white, in her features and her complexion they could see nothing of the Indian.

"Music and Drama," *Winnipeg Free Press*, December 1897.

> Pauline's advertising had shown only the Indian girl in her beaded chamois costume and feather headdress, so when a beautiful young woman in white satin evening dress came out of the vestry door and walked to the platform, there was a gasp of surprise from the audience. Pauline smiled at us reassuringly, knowing what was in our minds. I am going to be a white woman first," she said in her deep voice, "the Indian part will follow."

Nellie McClung, 1945 (describing performance c. 1896/7).

> Her poetic performances were marked by a schizophrenia, one half of her programme dressed in 'traditional' (although markedly sexualized – even vamped) Indian moccasin, bead and feather, and the other half in English evening dress of pale rose or white (a marketable sexuality of a very different and ambiguous nature.)"

Anne Collet, 1997.

While Johnson's middle-class studio portraits presented a new public image of a native woman and her re-appropriation of the Indian princess actively contested negative stereotypes of native women, it was the combination of the two that portrayed a positive identity for those of mixed heritage. For an 1897 Winnipeg audience Johnson appeared first 'pure Indian' and then 'almost white.' 'Marked by a schizophrenia' is how modern-day scholar Anne Collet describes Johnson's dual identity. Nellie McClung remembered the surprise of seeing an incarnation of a genteel lady when publicity posters led her and a Manitou audience to expect an 'Indian girl.' At a time when most children born of a native/'white' relationship were viewed negatively, Johnson celebrated her ethnic hybridity in a way that promoted her as a poetess and a performer. She chose in her public images to present both the other and not-other, the 'white' and 'red', the civilized and the primitive. By their co-existence she visually constructed an original 'half-blood' identity. Selecting portraits that epitomized an ideal 'norm' and an ideal 'other,' she demonstrated with photographs what she argued in her written texts: that the superlative Canadian was one of mixed blood.

As a woman of dual heritage Johnson lived in an ambiguous space dominated by colonial race and gender expectations. Key to the treatment of mixed-heritage individuals in the nineteenth century were eighteenth century skin-color labels united with new evolutionary theories. The so-called 'colored' races (red, brown, yellow and black) were not only viewed as inferior to 'white' but with new Darwinian thought, many scientists sought physiological and cultural evidence for evolution-related theories such as the separate origin of each 'race.' This contributed to rising fears of 'amalgamation' (the mixture of white and non-white races through sexual reproduction) in which 'colored blood' defiled the supposed-purity of 'white' bloodlines. Like these emancipated slaves photographed in 1863, it was not the darkness of skin color or the majority of one's ancestral background that defined a person's race but any drop of 'non-white' blood (fig. 77). As a Canadian reporter wrote about native ethnicity in 1885:

> The popular conception is that half-breed is the offspring of a French father and an Indian mother, and this was, of course, originally its true signification. The term has broadened out, however, until it now includes everyone who has any Indian blood in him whatever, whether it be one-sixteenth or three-fifths.[1]

Many people believed that "Indian blood [was] Indian blood and the amount of it makes very little difference."[2]

Wild and tame, civilized and primeval, both red and white, the seemingly contradictory categories ascribed to half-breeds implied they could never be whole or balanced. Opinions about them were as disparate as the labels. Theories and arguments veered from seeing them as embodying the best of the two races to being the scourge of both. Forced to inhabit an ambivalent and paradoxical image, they were described as everything from the "the curse of the Aborigines" to human beings more "advanced in mental and physical properties" than full-blood Indians.[3] Johnson often exposed the uncomfortable constraints (in her writing and performances) of this decidedly racist society.[4] In the short story "Shagganappi", for example, she singled out the confusion and anxiety of mixed heritage through a 'half-breed' character called Fire-Flint Laroque, stating: "If he could have called himself Indian or White he would have known where he stood…but here he was born to be a thing apart, with no nationality in all the world to claim as his blood heritage."[5]

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[1] The writer pointed out, "there are English, Scotch and French half-breeds." "The North-West Half-Breeds," *Daily Intelligencer*, 12 May 1885. Newspaper clipping included in Nick and Helma Mika, *The Riel Rebellion 1885* (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Silk Screening Ltd, 1972), 112. Metis was the French term for those of native and non-native descent while the English term was half-breed. This meant that those of French/Catholic origin were called Metis while those of English-speaking Protestant descent were called half-breeds. However, self-titled Metis communities were often described as 'half-breeds' by Anglo-Canadians.

[2] Words spoken by a character in the 1906 play "The Birthright." Written by a woman (Constance Lindsay Skinner) who grew up in the mixed-heritage community of Quesnel, the play focused on the traumatic life experiences of a young mixed blood character named Precious Conroy. Despite being only 1/8 aboriginal, her non-native adoptive mother says, 'It's in your blood! You're Indian all through." 'The Birthright' is discussed and quoted in Jean Barman, "Invisible Women: Aboriginal Mothers and Mixed-Race Daughters in Rural Pioneer British Colombia," in *Beyond the City Limits: Rural History in British Columbia,* ed. R. W. Sandwell (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 176-177.

In North America, mixed-heritage individuals and groups had traditionally been valuable facilitators at the boundaries where their two (or more) cultures met. But images of them degraded as these frontiers increasingly crumbled under waves of immigration and settlement. Mixed heritage women, for example, often with a middle-class education, valuable tribal connections and social training based on their fathers' European heritage had been desirable marriage partners in contact areas. With the arrival of settlers (particularly 'white women') and the development of a more conventional European-styled social order their significant role was undermined.[6] In an increasingly xenophobic climate, Sylvia Van Kirk has shown how portraits like those of Josette Work, appearing distinctly like Queen Victoria, or of the respectably dressed and arranged daughters of Captain W. H. MacNeil and his Haida wife, strategically emphasized Euro-Canadian origins (figs. 78 a & b).[7] But, as evidenced by the bigoted actions of a government official who visited Red River and "after having received the hospitalities of many families in the settlement saw fit to ridicule in public print those who had entertained him, and to speak and write disparagingly of the settlers as a body and ladies in particular," a middle-class appearance and lifestyle did not necessarily deter newcomers' racist responses.[8]

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[3] These are direct quotes in response to questions in a colonial government questionnaire distributed in 1842 to missionaries and officials. They come respectively from J.W. Keating the Assistant Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Walpole Island and from the Rev. C. Brough, missionary to Lakes Huron, Simcoe and Manitoulin. While some of the opinions expressed by the respondents show a complex understanding of the varying circumstances and multi-faceted cross-cultural relationships involved, many of the opinions were polarized. For example, while one respondent would say that half-breeds "possess most of the vices of the white man without the good qualities of the Indians, he is more savage when not under the dread of the law than the Indian; prone to drunkenness, and has perhaps less honor or honesty than either of his parents; and the females are generally loose characters," another would write "they were uniformly more intelligent, more industrious, more civilized, more enterprising, more orderly, more desirous of comfort, and possessed of stronger aspirations after improvement". Don Whiteside and Scott Douglas Whiteside, *Indians in Upper Canada Through 1845, with Special Reference to Half-Breed Indians: The Circle Being Threatened* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Institute of Canada, 1978), 32-33.

[4] Raised to proudly identify with her native ethnicity and heritage Johnson proclaimed "Never let anyone call me a white woman," but most of her native female characters had, like her, a mixed background. Charlotte Gray, *Flint and Feather: The Life and Times of E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake* (Toronto: Harper Flamingo Canada, 2002),196.

[5] E. Pauline Johnson, "The Shagganappi," in *E. Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake: Collected Poems and Prose*, eds. Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 262.

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[6] Sylvia Van Kirk and Sarah Carter have shown how the daughters of relationships between fur trading personnel and native women initially formed a mixed-race elite in contact zones but Carter points out that it was not 'white' women who created "notions of spatial and social segregation," rather "their arrival coincided with developments such as the treaties and the growth of ranching and farming, which served to consolidate the new order and to allow the recreation of Euro-Canadian institutions, and their presence helped to justify existing policies that were aimed at segregating the new community from indigenous contacts." Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 159.

[7] These portraits were not visible in the larger public realm but did appear socially. While neither deliberately planned nor culturally possible among their contemporaries, the de-facto visual effect in such portraits was one of 'passing.' From the writings of a contemporary tourist, Edward Roper, it is apparent that mixed-heritage women often could 'pass' if individuals were not aware of their native origin. Roper, as probably occurred for many newcomers, was very quickly informed of these women's ethnicity by others, or, in one case by the woman herself. F.R.G.S. Edward Roper, *By Track and Trail: A Journey Through Canada* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1891), 241-244.

In the latter part of the century individuals with a partial aboriginal background faced a variety of situations dictated by variations in gender, class, education and their parent's gender and tribal origins.[9] In the North-West during the 1880s and 1890s, Canada, seeking to establish its governance, developed policies intended to segregate natives from whites and to consolidate the property and financial wealth of the new territories in Euro-Canadian hands. Mixed marriages made according to aboriginal custom ("the custom of the country"), upheld by law earlier in the century, were denied legal status in 1886.[10]

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[8] "Riel's First Rebellion,' *Globe*, 26 March 1885. In Mika and Mika, *Riel Rebellion*,11. A very similar event occurred in British Columbia in 1886 when the American historian Hubert Howe Bancroft was entertained by a variety of Victoria's Hudson Bay Company families and then later wrote in his *History of the Northwest Coast*: "It has always seemed to me that the heaviest penalty the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company were obliged to pay for the wealth and authority advancement gave them, was the wives they were expected to marry and the progeny they should rear...Surely they were possessed of sufficient intelligence to know that by giving their children Indian or half-breed mothers, their own old Scotch, Irish or English blood would in them be greatly debased, and hence they were doing all concerned a great wrong." Quoted in Van Kirk, "Five Founding Families," 177.

[9] My focus here is with women and primarily addresses the situation of middle-class mixed-heritage women who had some connection with Euro-Canadian society as those who 'went with the tribe' have subsequently disappeared from historical sources. It would be an interesting and evocative source of study to work within native communities discovering the history and experience of mixed-heritage individuals and families who never identified themselves outside of the tribe and pursued a full native identity within it. In Euro-Canadian society women and men of mixed heritage did face different situations. For a discussion of the contrasting roles and expectations for each gender see "Tracing the Fortunes of Five Founding Families of Victoria." Van Kirk points out that because of their greater public role males were often confronted by a more overt racism and were less likely to succeed in colonial culture than their sisters -although at the earliest stages, some well-educated sons did succeed their fathers in similar positions within fur trading companies. Besides gender, class status and education were keys in determining an individual's possible role and level of acceptance in settler society. Jean Barman's "Invisible Women: Aboriginal Mothers and Mixed-Race Daughters in Rural Pioneer British Colombia" addresses some of those issues.

[10] The judge's ruling in the 1886 case of *Jones v. Fraser* invalidated the legal rights of aboriginal wives and mixed-heritage children to their partner's/fathers' estates. Carter, *Capturing Women,* 191. It was this discrimination between the marriage rites of native and non-native societies that Johnson attacked vociferously in her short story "A Red Girl's Reasoning."

Not only were dual-heritage individuals confronted with escalating bigotry but many were now legally deprived from inheriting through their non-aboriginal families – a discrimination which maintained power and economic profit in the Euro-Canadian community.[11]

In books and the popular media, the image of the half-breed varied widely, from "the veritable physiognomy of a demon incarnate" [12] to buckskin-clad intermediaries and 'partly civilized' half-breeds seen as friends of the colonists. But in the latter half of the century, the most common real-life image was associated with dissension and war. On 20 March 1885, a portrait of Louis Riel in a buffalo coat appeared in the Toronto *Globe* with these words (fig. 79):

> Louis Riel, the hero of the Red River rebellion, recently exiled from Manitoba, has created dissension among the half-breeds, and an outbreak is imminent. The militia disarmed by the Dominion Government last year are appealing for arms to defend their homes. The situation is considered critical.[13]

The 'half-breeds' of the Northwest had become significant subjects in the daily press. During the 1885 Riel Rebellion, the Metis and the term half-breed became associated with headlines like "A Massacre! An Indian Butchery at Frog Lake.

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[11] Carter, *Capturing Women*, 191-193.

[12] John Esten Cooke, *Fairfax* (New York: Carleton, 1868), 381. Like the half-breed in Cooke's novel who was: "five feet high, with a deep yellow, or sallow complexion, a gigantic breadth of chest, long monkey-like arms, and legs…small eyes, as cunning and cruel as a serpent's, rolled beneath bush brows; his nose was crooked like a hawk's bill, and the hideous mouth, stretching almost from ear to ear, was disfigured with protruding tusks like those of a wild boar," some mixed-heritage characters were portrayed with hideous appearances expressing one contemporary belief that racial intermixing created horrific animal-like mutants. Cooke wrote, "The figure…belonged apparently to no nation or class, if indeed, to the race of human beings! It was nevertheless possessed of a revolting interest and a lover of the horrible and picturesque united would have feasted his eyes upon the animal." Ibid., 320.

[13] "Louis Riel," *Globe,* 20 March 1885. Clipping in Mika and Mika, *The Riel Rebellion*, 1.

Two Priests and Six Men and Women Slaughtered."[14] The half-breeds were seen as inciting the Indian groups that joined them and/or threatening other full-blood tribes to unite with them.[15] Using the distorted narratives of propaganda some of the press painted the Metis as incredibly brutal.[16] Even in newspapers like the *Globe*, which challenged government actions, the war rhetoric of 'us' (Toronto men going to fight) and 'them' could not be avoided.[17] During the conflict one positive image did emerge. A drawing of Metis John Pritchard sitting guard in front of a tent illustrated his laudable role in protecting Teresa Gowanlock and Mrs. Delaney, two settler women captured and held hostage by the Plains Cree (fig. 80). But this "image was increasingly tarnished" as Sarah Carter argues, "by a non-Aboriginal public that was not willing to view a person of part-Aboriginal ancestry in a heroic light."[18]

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[14] *Kingston Daily News,* (Friday evening, 10 April 1885). In Mika & Mika, *The Riel Rebellion*, 52.
[15] *Daily Intelligencer*, Belleville (Thurs. 30 April 1885). In Mika, & Mika, *The Riel Rebellion,* 84.
[16] An excellent example of this was the illustration of Gabriel Dumont (the commander of Riel's forces) pictured in the *Winnipeg Times* on 16 May 1885. Depicted with a bandolier and rifle, the accompanying story made Dumont's name and image synonymous with inhuman cruelty: "Dumont went up to two of the Prince Albert volunteers – whose names the officer who relates the story has forgotten – both of whom were badly wounded. Dumont stirred up one with his foot and, pointing his revolver in his face, told him he was going to kill him. The poor fellow pleaded that he was not mortally wounded, that he had a wife and children of whom he was the sole support and might recover although he would be a cripple. Dumont, with a malignant leer, applied some offensive epithet and blew his brains out, dispatching the second man in a similar manner. The story has so fired the men of the 90th that they would sooner shoot Dumont than Riel." "How Dumont is Looked Upon by the Troops," *Winnipeg Times,* 16 May 1885. In Mika & Mika, *The Riel Rebellion,* 130.
[17] The Toronto *Globe* consistently placed Sir John A. MacDonald and his government in the role of enemy rather than the Metis. In one of their earliest articles they stated that "If the people of the North-West had been treated with due consideration, if due respect had been shown for their rights and for themselves, there would have been no Red River Rebellion" and pointed out "the Halfbreeds...have employed all the usual constitutional means of gaining the attention of the government." "Riel's Second Rebellion," *Globe,* 23 March 1885. To the end of the conflict the *Globe* continued its criticism of the government emphasizing that, "the Metis had very serious grievances" and "were DRIVEN TO REVOLT". "Riel's Sympathizers," *Globe,* Thurs. 3 Dec. 1885. Their focus did not necessarily reflect a particular preference for the Metis but rather the paper's ongoing political anti-government stance. In the midst of the rebellion, however, headlines like "Ready! Toronto Men in Marching Order, AND MOST ENTHUSIASTIC" and prayers for the safety of the volunteers (*Globe*, Mon. 30 March 1885) placed the Euro-Canadians as 'us' with the physical threat of the half-breeds as 'them.'

Moreover, those of mixed heritage were viewed critically for economic reasons. Because of the 'gifts' (annuities) paid to them native peoples were increasingly perceived as financial burdens on the government. In the 1830s and 1840s one strategy to cut payments to aboriginal communities was the proposed plan (partially implemented by 1845) to discontinue 'presents' to those of mixed origins, as well as to any native woman married or co-habiting with a non-native man.[19] Codified by legislation in 1869, those of combined ethnicity now had to be identified as either 'Indian' or 'white.'[20] This was both race and gender-discriminatory. The native man who married a woman of European origin lost nothing but a native woman who married a non-native was denied her and her children's status and legal rights as Indian - becoming literally 'white' in the view of the courts. Neither she nor her children could own tribal land, could live on the reserve, could inherit reserve property and or could be buried among their own family on the reserve.[21] This produced deep fissures within tribes. Traditionally, it was the individual's role within the group, rather than 'race' that had determined tribal identity.[22] Now, effectively denied native community, mixed heritage individuals lost social and cultural connectedness with their people. Many faced racism in an unexpected setting - their immediate family. Some were encouraged or forced to cut ties with native mothers and matrilineal kin while others, particularly males, were discriminated against by their own fathers.[23] A 'whiting out' of native ethnicity, often begun through the dominant teaching of a Euro-Canadian parent, frequently continued through marriage to another non-native and ended with their children's complete loss of identification to and contact with native cultures. New categories of racial exclusion began to develop. Those with a partial native background more and more confronted prejudice and possible rejection from indigenous communities, as well as from Euro-Canadian society.[24]

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[18] Carter, *Capturing Women*, 85. In comparing the original stories of these two women with their later accounts Carter shows how their stories changed to become more like conventional Indian captivity narratives where Euro-Canadians played the most heroic roles and the efforts of the Metis men who helped Gowanlock and Delaney were downplayed. See pages 82-90 for Carter's description of what occurred during the conflict and pages 102-107 for an analysis of how the stories changed and why.

[19] Concerned by the costs of colonial government, the British Ministry of Colonial Affairs pursued several different strategies. The most common proposals made in the 1830s and 1840s (besides those affecting mixed-heritage individuals) included discontinuing gifts to 'visiting' natives coming over the border from the United States and to children born after a selected date, as well as to future children educated at Industrial schools who would be expected to resign their title to annuities. At this stage, Whiteside indicates that all of "these policies were unevenly applied and engendered a steady stream of protest from the Indians (both full-blood and half-breed) as well as within the colonial department itself." Whiteside & Whiteside, *Indians in Upper Canada*, 7.

[20] Titled "An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians, the better management of Indian Affairs and to extend the provision of Act 31st Victoria Chapter 42," it gave much greater powers to the government and its agents to act on the reserves. Some have argued that the reasoning behind section 6 of the act (which affected native women who married out of the tribe) was to protect tribes from unscrupulous 'white' men but Kathleen Jamieson convincingly argues, based on an examination of contemporary discussions in the House of Commons, that "section 6 was nothing more than a muddled attempt to achieve the greater efficiency and the easier management of budgets" and that there was, "in fact not too much forethought about possible side effects." Kathleen Jamieson, *Indian Women and the Law in Canada: Citizens Minus* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1978), 33-34. Jamieson also highlights a disturbing sexism, however, which believed that "Indian women should be subject to their husbands as were other women. Their children were his children alone in law. It was inconceivable that an Indian woman should be able to own and transmit property and rights to her children," (38). This law dominated native women's choices for over a hundred years and was only overturned in 1985 with Bill C-31.

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[21] Most devastating of all, even if they were in great need and were separated, divorced or widowed from their non-native spouse, they could not move back to the reserve. Jamieson, *Indian Women and the Law*, 1.

[22] Prior to this time neither native groups nor the colonial government defined tribal membership according to blood heritage. Belonging to the tribe was not dependent on racial origins but on adherence to the will of the community. This is particularly clear from a resolution of the Council of Principal Chiefs at a General Indian Council in 1836 that stated, "if any man or woman, being a half-Indian, wished to become a part of, or attached to any tribe, he or she shall be claimed, and in every respect considered as belonging to that Tribe: provided he or she do in all things submit to the rules and regulations of the said Tribe." Whiteside & Whiteside, *Indians in Upper Canada*, 12.

[23] Racism within bi-heritage families is complex, disturbing and often difficult to discern. Despite intermarriage many individuals retained a racialized worldview of superiority that plays out in their relationship with spouse and children. John Tod, an intermarried Anglo-Canadian, for example, wrote to a friend about mixed-heritage men (meaning, in part, his own sons): "Well, have you observed that all attempts to make gentlemen of them have hitherto proved a failure. The fact is there is something radically wrong about them all." Sylvia Van Kirk, "Tracing the Fortunes of Five Founding Families of Victoria," *BC Studies* (Autumn/Winter 1997-8): 177.

Perhaps the almost-vitriolic hatred oft expressed towards 'half-breeds' was because they were seen as a new threat. Following Sir John A. MacDonald's confirmation of the uprising, an illustrated lithograph of Riel's first cabinet, as well as an individual portrait of him were published in the *Globe* (figs. 81 a & b). While the 20 March image of Riel had fit common perceptions of the Metis as buffalo hunters these portraits (based on photographs) presented the familiar accoutrements (suits, ties, coiffures and even grooming styles for facial hair) of contemporary Canadian middle-class men. Neither complexion nor posture nor dress visually distinguished them from 'pure white' individuals. As Riel later wrote, "People who are ordinarily very polite and well-bred sometimes address a Metis thus: 'You don't look like a Metis at all. You surely cannot have much Indian blood. At any rate, you would pass anywhere for a pure white.'"[25] For readers of the *Globe*, the 'enemy' looked just like themselves. Through intermarriage and community relationship 'they' were becoming 'us' – to many people an intolerable addition to Euro-Canadian bloodlines. But the threat was manifold. In an age when the 'primitive' Indian was purportedly becoming extinct because of an inability to adapt, people of mixed heritage spoke the same language as colonists and could interact in two cultures.[26] Many successfully competed with 'white' settlers and businessmen – a sound shock to theories of 'white' racial superiority.[27] And the rebellion raised a spectre of danger from 'tribes' of half-breeds who had a distinct sense of their own cultural identity and nationhood. Following the execution of Louis Riel, Prime Minister John A. MacDonald continued to try to crush mixed-heritage distinctiveness, emphatically stating, "if they are Indians they go with the tribe; if they are halfbreeds they are white."[28] For many the enemy now were not 'Indians' but bicultural individuals.

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[24] The racial divisions enforced by the government became new social categories among aboriginal groups with 'half-breeds' often becoming unwelcome among their own kin. As one part-Carrier woman described it, the 'bad' part of her childhood was because "some of the [full-blood Aboriginal] village people, especially the children, treated me as a person apart, different in some way from themselves." Barman, "Invisible Women," 174.

[25] Riel described the response of the Metis who "rather disconcerted by the tone of this remark, would like to assert his origin on the one side as well as on the other. He is restrained by the fear of disturbing or altogether upsetting the speaker's complacency. Whilst he yet is hesitating which to choose amongst the different answers that suggest themselves to his mind, words to this effect put an end to his silence: 'Ah, bah! You have almost no Indian blood, not any worth speaking of.'" Riel then defined a distinctive sense of hybrid identity based on a loyalty and commitment to both origins. "This is how the Metis think of this matter in their own hearts. 'It is true that our Indian origin is an humble one. But justice demands that we honour our mothers as well as our fathers. Why should we care to what degree exactly of mixture we possess European blood and Indian blood? If we feel ever so little gratitude and filial love towards one or the other, do they not constrain us to say: 'WE ARE METIS'. Quote from a paper written by Riel and published after his execution. The *Globe* says that it was originally "procured by *The Montreal Star* from Father

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Andre, Riel's confessor." "Metis of the North-West," *The Globe,* Monday, 30 Nov. 1885. Clipping in Mika and Mika, *The Riel Rebellion*, 298.

[26] Francis Bond Head writing to Lord Glenelg in November of 1836 about the Indian problem said, "We have only to bear patiently with them for a short time, and with a few exceptions, principally half castes, their unhappy race, beyond our power of redemption, will be extinct." A few months later in April of 1837 he warned that "the Breed of Half-Castes, who are every day becoming more crafty and cunning…would give a great deal of trouble to the government if they had anything to claim under strict Treasury Regulations." Quoted in Whiteside and Whiteside, *Indians in Upper Canada*, 14 & 23.

[27] Gerhard J. Ens shows how the Metis acted as financially-successful intermediaries in the 'dualistic economy' of the Plains (1840s to the 1870s) where two different groups with "different cultures, laws of development, technology and demand patterns" co-existed within the same economy. In the 1880s and 90s, as a Euro-Canadian socio-economic system began to prevail many Metis moved back to their native origins or assimilated into Euro-Canadian culture. Gerhard J. Ens, "Metis Ethnicity, Personal Development and the Development of Capitalism in the Western Interior," in *From Rupert's Land to Canada*. eds. Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens & R. C. MacLeod (Edmonton, Alberta: The University of Alberta Press, 2001), 162 & 174.

[28] Lilianne Krosenbrink-Gelissen, *Sexual Equality as an Aboriginal Right: The Native Women's Association of Canada and the Constitutional Process on Aboriginal Matters 1982-1987* (Saarbrucken: Verlag breitenbach Publishers, 1991), 28.

In this intolerant environment many mixed-heritage individuals tried to disappear by obscuring or even hiding their ethnicity, an option Johnson could have pursued.[29] During her early writing career, her use of non-native pseudonyms (a typical practice among female authors of the day) or her own non-recognizably-native name did not reveal her origins. Prior to her public performance of native ethnicity, Strong-Boag and Gerson indicate her "education and social milieu predicted integration through marriage into the dominant Anglo-Canadian culture."[30] But Johnson did not see herself as a 'white' woman. Her experience as the daughter of a native man and 'white' woman was atypical, reversing the more usual Anglo-Canadian/French male and native female. Legally, Johnson (as well as her English mother) were 'Indian'[31] and while she was mothered by an English role model her aboriginal heritage was not obscured or denied but proudly emphasized by both native and non-native parent.[32] It was this dual ethnicity that Johnson proudly identified to the public.[33] Her first 1890 portrait in the press – demure and feminine - appeared no different from multitudes of other images of Euro-Canadian women but the text portrayed her bi-cultural origins because Johnson had, as many mixed heritage individuals today, already "refused to disappear as a Native person by refusing the 'option' to be white."[34] Her visual creation of a native identity through costume in 1892 allowed her to further individuate both origins.[35] Her presentation in public portraits (as on stage) was defining a woman of two races, two cultures and two heritages (figs. 82 a & b).

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[29] In a recent guest lecture at the University of Alberta Veronica Strong-Boag indicated Carole Gerson and she found evidence that when Johnson travelled across Canada she often stayed with former Brantfordites who were of mixed heritage, and that, while Johnson was aware of their ethnicity, the people in their new communities were not. Also, Sylvia Van Kirk's research for "Five Founding Families" demonstrates that many families so successfully downplayed their partial native origins that later family members were not even aware of their aboriginal background.

[30] Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 115.

[31] Under Section 6 of the new act, a Euro-Canadian woman who married a native man became 'Indian' as did her children.

[32] In the semi-biographical story, "My Mother," Johnson says that her "mother instilled into [her children] from the very cradle that they were of their father's people, not of hers" and that "English though she was, made it her life service to inspire, foster and elaborate within these children the pride of race, the value of that copper-tinted skin which they all displayed. When people spoke of blood and lineage and nationality, these children would say, 'We are Indians,' with the air with which a young Spanish don might say, 'I am Castilian.'" E. Pauline Johnson, "My Mother," in *The Moccasin Maker,* ed. A. Lavonne Brown Ruoff (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,1998), 69 & 70. Emily Howells Johnson may have been trying to prepare her children for the prejudice she had already faced. Howells own brother-in-law refused to perform her wedding ceremony or have anything to do with her and her future children. On the eve of the wedding he kicked her out of his home leaving her stranded in an unfamiliar city. Howells was initially caught between a lack of acceptance from both her own and George's family. Her family could not (as Pauline described it), "understand the fierce resentment of [George's] Indian parents that the [chief's] family title

The images complemented her writing where Johnson spoke into imperial cultures about mixed-heritage identity. Various poems and short stories indicated not only her interest in the subject of hybridity but strong opinions about equity between native and non-native. Via the voice of an authoritative figure in "The Shagganappi," Johnson inverted purist expectations to challenge, "Most of the people on this continent are of mixed blood – how few are the pure English, or

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could never continue under the family name." And George's family never understood the "'white' prejudice against them." Johnson, "My Mother", 45. Emily did not re-enter public life after her marriage, preferring to remain at home. While fitting the 'angel in the house' stereotype for middle-class femininity she was perhaps partially confined by her own choice to avoid a freakish celebrity occasioned by marriage to an Indian man, even though he was a chief.

[33] Clearly described in her correspondence with literary editors during the late 1880s, her hybrid origins were, by 1889, being acknowledged in reviews and articles about her. Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 101.

[34] Kim Anderson, *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood* (Toronto: Second Story Press, 2000), 144-5.

[35] Strong-Boag and Gerson state, "this overt display of both sides of her parentage enabled [Johnson] to create a unique stage persona, distinguishing the strands of her background in a manner possible only in performance, while maintaining conventions of gender and class" but as early as 1893 readers could view Johnson photographically as New Native Woman in Wetherell's text or as provocative Indian maiden in *The Canadian Girl.* Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*,113.

pure Scottish or Irish, or indeed any particular nationality. Yet the white people of mixed-blood are never called half-breeds. Why not?"[36]

The reason appeared in the words of a racist character named Shorty, who hated 'mongrels.' Although having a mother who was English and a father who was Irish, Shorty was, as he stated it, "white on both sides of the family; I'm not splashed with tinted blood."[37] Johnson's answer to this bigotry was a substitution of the prevalent view of tainted Indian blood with what she portrayed as a "blood…that the whole world might envy."[38] In her story - offered as proof - were native individuals who demonstrated greater qualities of character, courage, perseverance, kindness, insight, discernment and graciousness, than non-natives.[39] Johnson was fighting to present a positive alternative.

She tied her own personal identity to this hypothesis in a fictionalised account of her own family.[40] In writing of her brother's and, therefore, her own ethnicity she stated that the "pale brown of his satiny skin called loudly and insistently that he was of a race older than the composite English could ever boast…the hallmark of his ancient heritage."[41] Privileging as purer, tinted skin and native blood, her argument worked ironically against the common view.[42] Johnson endorsed the less-derogatory term 'half blood' to replace 'half-breed'[43] and promoted an idea that "all the better qualities of both bloods seemed to blend within" them.[44] She argued that the heritage belonging to those of mixed background was the best of "Red Indian blood, dashed with that of the first great soldiers, settlers and pioneers in this vast Dominion," creating a national identity she described as "Canadian in the greatest sense of that great word."[45]

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[36] Johnson, "Shagganappi," 263. The idea of cross-race contamination was clearly behind the words of one newspaper condolence expressed to the Johnson family upon the death of their mother. Almost 50 years after her marriage to George Johnson the writer did not resist pointing out that many "will remember well the astonishment with which society received the news of the engagement and the subsequent marriage of the popular and much admired Miss Emily Howells to a full-blooded Indian." Untitled clipping, unidentified newspaper (probably from Kingston, Ontario), February 1898.

[37] Johnson, "The Shagganappi," 271.

[38] Johnson, "The Shagganappi," 263.

[39] This was a technique Johnson used in many of her stories. And, when her mixed-blood characters (who were primarily female) made choices it was their native 'side' which always determined their final actions. Anne Collett describes this as a war between 'red' and 'white' queens in which the red queen always wins. Anne Collet, "Red and White: Miss E. Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake and the Other Woman," *Women's Writing* 8, no. 3 (2001): 362. Yet, like Okanogan writer Jeannette Armstrong, there was obviously a felt need to present an alternative to the "Indian who always get[s] beaten in the battles of romance, or the Indian girl" who "inevitably [gets] the cold shoulder in the wars of love?" (Johnson, "Strong Race Opinion," 1) and to speak "a better story than is told about us." Kim Anderson, *Recognition of Being*, 140.

[40] By exposing her native origins Johnson became visible as the product of what most Canadians would deem a racial misalliance. She did not escape the pejorative connotations. Her own intended sister-in-law, Margaret Drayton, described Johnson in a letter as "a half breed" qualifying the discriminatory term with the words "but then such a nice one." Drayton's use of language

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demonstrated her need to defend her brother's choice of a bi-racial woman. She further attempted to mitigate negative perceptions by explaining that Johnson's 'mother belonged to a very good English family,' her father was 'a very clever man' and a chief and described Johnson not just as a poetess but also as 'an Indian Princess.' Quoted in Gray, *Flint and Feather*, 242

[41] The Governor General contrasts the often mixed heritage of non-aboriginal peoples with "the blood of a great aboriginal race that is the offshoot of no other races in the world...a thing of itself, unmixed for thousands of years, a blood that is distinct and exclusive." Johnson, "Shagganappi," 263. In "My Mother" Johnson emphasized the status and purity of her own father's bloodline by describing his "aristocratic lineage that bred him a native gentleman, with a grand old title that had come down to him through six hundred years of honor in warfare and the high places of his people" (48).

[42] In one article she stated quite clearly, "The Iroquois chief possesses a purer pedigree, a 'bluer' blood, than any hand, British or French." Quoted in "An Indian Poetess on Indians," unidentified newspaper (Toronto), May 1892.

[43] In "Shagganappi," when her mixed-heritage character, Fire-Flint, is called a half-breed by his school principal, Johnson uses the authoritative voice of another character, a visiting Governor General to correct him: "What an odd term. I imagine you mean a half-blood, not a half-breed." His voice was chilly and his eyes a little cold as he looked rather haughtily at the principal. "I do not like the word "breed" applied to human beings. It is a term for cattle, not men'" (262). The Governor's distaste was certainly an expression of Johnson's own and through him she questioned it's unique attribution to people of color.

[44] Johnson, "My Mother," 62.

[45] Johnson, "Shagganappi," 263. In an acrostic poem celebrating the sport of *La Crosse*, Johnson elucidated this theme again and attached aristocratic connotations to a lacrosse player she dubs, "Crown Prince born of the forest courts" who is now "throned as the King of Sports." Here the aristocratic inheritor of dual races is once again tied to a nationalistic character by the poem's acrostic - which reads, 'CANADAS NATIONAL SPORT.' E. Pauline Johnson," La Crosse," *Daily Province* (Vanvouver), 10 June 1911.

Using language Johnson was attempting to create a new public image for part-aboriginal people, one where the 'half-blood' was seen as the best of both worlds. But Johnson also proposed this identity physically through her own body, on-stage and in her public portraits. The visual image produced, whether in Indian garb or ball gown, was of a woman of the highest status. Posed in her re-performance of the Indian maiden, reviewers saw her "as lovely as Minnehaha and as eloquent as the noted chiefs of her tribe"[46] while her presentation of English aristocracy illustrated "a lady of fine presence."[47] Contradicting demeaning stereotypes of the 'mongrel' was Johnson's self-assured image of a positive hybridity.

But examining Johnson's dual imagery, particularly the 1898 publicity brochure, which like many of her on-stage performances initially presented an Indian princess (on the front) apparently 'transformed' into an English lady (on the inside), raises troubling questions. Did these dual portraits portray what Johnson described as "the boundless possibilities to which the Redman may gravitate if he is once placed upon the right road that leads to high civilization?"[48] Johnson's own perceptions had been (in Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's terms) 'worlded' by a view of colonial culture as 'civilized.'[49] Did her combined portraits read like before-and-after illustrations for the possibilities of assimilation?

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[46] Unidentified newspaper (Grand Rapids, Michigan), 1896. Quoted in Gray, *Flint and Feather*, 232.

[47] *Kingston News* (Surrey), undated clipping. This quote was reiterated in Johnson's publicity, appearing as one of the 'testimonials' in the 1898 advertising flyer.

[48] E. Pauline Johnson, "A Glimpse at the Grand River Indians," *Saturday Night*, 20 Feb. 1892, 7.

[49] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives," *History and Theory* 24 (1985): 253.

Assimilation, seen by colonials as the answer to native/non-native conflicts, involved the cultural absorption and coercion of distinctive native groups into a homogeneous Euro-Canadian society. Illustrated in photographs like Thomas Moore's (produced by residential schools as examples of their successful transformation of the 'savage' into the 'civilized') was the deliberate eradication of all native tradition and ethnicity (fig. 27 a & b). These were actions vehemently opposed by Johnson. She wrote:

> There is little left wherewith to gauge the possibilities to which a people may attain by means of educational advancement, when they are shorn beforehand of all that is best in their mental and moral condition, and this is almost the first step that most individuals wish to take when working to civilize what they are pleased to call the savage.[50]

Comparing native identity allegorically to a tree she derided the flawed thinking which strips "the tree of all its beauty of foliage" and then takes "the bare unlovely trunk, transplant[s] it into artificial soil, and marvel[s] that it thrives not."[51]

In Thomas Moore's portraits or in American photographs of girls at the Hampton boarding school, assimilation was depicted as a straightforward cultural conversion privileging Euro-Canadian and American culture as the final intended result (figs. 83 a & b). The images moved in a narrative sequence from past to present and were intended to suggest a potential future. Johnson's extemporaneous words in performance that "I am going to be a white woman first… the Indian part will follow "[52] indicate not a unidirectional progress from perceived primitive to cultivated but her visual goal to showcase both branches of her cultural and racial heritage. Evidence from reviews and articles show her presentations were not static. Sometimes she appeared as 'lady' first and Indian maiden last. Sometimes she recited in only one guise. Her free movement between the two images (both on stage and in photographs) contradicted a simplistic 'before' and 'after' construction.

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[50] Johnson, "A Glimpse at the Grand River Indians," 7.

[51] Johnson points out that "much has been said and written in the present day about civilizing the Indians of North America, but it has mainly been theoretical matter from pens wet in political ink, or from the lips of would-be philanthropists". Ibid.

However, before-and-after portraits were not meant merely to convey the cultural transformation of individuals but the potential 'conversion' of native societies. What is particularly telling regarding Johnson's image is discovered when her and her father's portraits are compared in the context of 'transformation' photography. Visualized in the portrait of Quewich and his boarding-school children, appearing in the 1900 annual report of the Department of Indian Affairs, was the intended model of assimilation (fig. 84).[53] Although standing side by side, Quewich is manifestly separated from his children by pose, gaze, dress, and an awkward gap. The 'before' state of native cultures represented in the shabby mixed clothing, insecure stance and downcast gaze of Quewich are decisively transformed only inches away into the 'after' state of assimilation displayed by his son's smart uniform suit and cap, the white lace collars of his daughters and their arranged studio pose.

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[52] Nellie L. McClung, *The Stream Runs Fast: My Own Story* (Toronto: Thomas Allen Limited, 1946), 34.

[53] J.R. Miller, "Reading Photographs, Reading Voices: Documenting the History of Native Residential Schools," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History,* ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown & Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1996), 469-470.

At first glance, a portrait of George Johnson standing in native regalia next to one of Pauline reposing elegantly in evening dress seems to present a similar dichotomy (figs. 85 a & b). Although better dressed than Quewich, George Johnson appears like an icon from the past beside his modern daughter. Both Johnson portraits, however, are sophisticated in posture and presentation. George's insouciant style (including his Napoleonic pose with one hand tucked into his jacket) combines with a comfortable lack of self-consciousness before the camera that belie a simple identification as primitive.[54] This ease represents his familiarity with Euro-Canadian culture and when one places middle-class portraits of father and daughter side by side, they reveal a unity of cultural experience and debonair style (figs. 86 a & b). But both father and daughter also reclaimed a personal and symbolic vision of their native heritage by creating, wearing and publicly presenting a 'traditional' image of aboriginal ethnicity – actions which opposed the denial of native cultures implicit in assimilation (figs. 86 c & d). Moreover, both George and Pauline's images were supple. Either could appear native, or Euro-Canadian, or both.

The similarity of practice between father and daughter is contrary to the severing of family connections evident in Quewich's portrait. The discomfited visual space between Quewich and his children exhibits a deliberate division, fostered by governmental agencies, of native families and generations. The government wanted to interrupt the continuity of native dress, practice and tradition made visible in photographs such as Geraldine Moodie's *"Four Generations of a Family at the Sun Dance Celebration, Showing a Native Gentleman, Skowchas, with His Daughter, Granddaughter and Great-Grandson"* (fig. 87).[55] The decision to separate families was intended to eliminate the supposedly "deleterious home influences to which" the student "would otherwise be subjected" and to "reclaim him from the uncivilized state in which he has been brought up."[56]

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[54] Like their diverse economic and social states there was a variety of native experiences with photography but by the turn of the century the majority of native peoples in Canada (excluding the North) had some familiarity with the camera. There were native photographers and photographers' assistants. Even when it was not the native individual's decision to be photographed (like Thomas Moore's 'before' photograph) many of the portraits demonstrated a direct self-confidence. Moore's photograph, for example, is defined as much by what it is not, as by what it is. Moore's straight gaze and bent-arms pose is not diffident, uncertain, fearful or self-conscious. It is definitely not consistent with expectations of Indians' supposedly ignorant and/or fearful response to technology.

In conspicuous contrast to the divisiveness of Quewich and his children was the continuity of George and Pauline's portrait making. Both actively commissioned middle-class studio portraits. Both actively repossessed images of traditional native ethnicity. And when we flip their images, seeing George in Euro-Canadian dress and Johnson in her native-style costume, there is an utter overturn of the 'savage to civilized' picture (figs. 89 a & b).[57] This portraiture is an example of bi-culturalism, where both Euro-Canadian and native cultures emerge as equitable. The flexibility, the free movement between either, contradicts a unidirectional movement privileging colonial culture.

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[55] One of the key devices in Canadian government strategies to eradicate native cultures and ethnicity, federally organized schools increasingly focused on dividing native children from their families and tribes, a technique which broke traditional connections between generations. As one federal cabinet minister stated in 1883, "if these schools are to succeed, we must not have them too near the bands; in order to educate the children properly, we must separate them from their families." Quoted in J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 265.

[56] Quote from the 1889 DIA Annual Report. Ibid., 264. Furthermore, like the young Native American girl illustrated on the cover of an illustrated American newspaper (fig. 88), government-schooled children like Quewich's were expected to convey cultural transformation to their own reserves.

[57] George's photographs were not nationally presented like Pauline's but her written words in various locations often confirmed the duality of his images. Her most extensive description of him (in the narrative *My Mother*), like his photographs, not only represented his multiple roles but portrayed the unexpected reversed order introducing him as a cultivated and educated gentleman who appeared only briefly in his 'chieftain' dress.

Similarly, Johnson's presentation over the span of her entire career also invalidated the assimilation stereotype. Her early publicity presented portraits of Euro-Canadian modernity but her career was gradually dominated by the re-appropriated Indian princess. In many ways, this steadily shifting public image reversed the fable of assimilation. And, once again, her public image was dominated by people's experiences of her own words. She indicted the loss of native culture and the prejudices of residential schools when she performed her short story "As It Was In The Beginning." [58] A poem, "His Sister's Son," that Johnson also recited was never published, perhaps as Charlotte Gray suggests, "because it made audiences so uncomfortable."[59] Johnson's writings and her regular performance of them was an angry voice cutting against the grain of assimilation with bitter words and images.[60]

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[58] The critique was so bitter that one British reviewer, while he found it "no less effective" did consider it "less pleasant" than the rest of her program. "Steinway Hall," unidentified London newspaper, 1906. While the Johnson family has, at times, been labelled assimilationist, their interactions with elements of colonial cultures were more complex and ambivalent. When one of the first residential schools, the Mohawk Institute, was established on the reserve Evelyn's memoirs make it clear that George and Emily Johnson did not intend to send their sons. Because parents on the reserve "were slow in sending their children," the children's uncle Adam Elliot, the Anglican missionary, "coaxed mother and father to send Bev, as an example." Evelyn Johnson, "Henry Beverly Johnson," *Chiefswood* (unpublished memoirs, Ontario Archives), 2. Henry Beverly was miserable but the Johnson parents expected him to remain. Although they were ambivalent about the school once Henry was there they made him stick with it. But Allan, who later indicated the seriousness of his discontent by running away was not forced to return. Mrs. Garland Foster indicates that Johnson's story 'The Shagganappi" which portrays racist incidents in the life of a young mixed-blood man at school was based on Henry's experiences at the Mohawk Institute. Mrs. W. Garland Foster, *The Mohawk Princess: Being Some Account of Tekahionwake (E. Pauline Johnson)* (Vancouver: Lion's Gate Publishing, 1931), 117. As a whole, the Johnson family esteemed education. But whatever its individual members thought of the new assimilative forms of education seems to have been conflicted, emotional and in public often carefully mediated for a society that prized the idea as an answer to the 'Indian problem'.

[59] Gray details how an "assiduous reporter preserved one bitter, tragic verse:"

> For they [killed] the best that there was in me
> When they said I must not return
> To my father's lodge, to my mother's arms;
> When my heart would burn-and burn!

Viewers, seeing the diversity of her presentation, visually familiar with the growing dominance of native rather than Euro-Canadian publicity images, and hearing and reading her writings, knew Johnson believed Canadians should "Leave the Redman as he is mentally and morally" for "in such respects he is equal to his pale brethren."[61] In the specific context created by Johnson's actions and words it was evident that her dual portraits were not sequential. Rather they were illustrations of diversity within unity, the visualization of a dual heritage and culture encapsulated within one person.

But in visually establishing a hybrid identity as the combination of the best of two cultures, why did Johnson not use one image that combined Haudenosaunee and Anglo-Canadian elements? Like the portrait of a Seneca woman garbed in a silk dress adorned with Haudenosaunee brooches, elaborate beading and embroidery, Johnson could have mixed a contemporary fashionable gown with Mohawk decorative features (fig. 90). Why the 'schizophrenic,' as Anne Collett describes it, choice of dual image?[62] Rejecting what was for her an old-fashioned style of dress, Johnson's lack of mixed attributes accurately

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For when dead is a daughter's womanhood
There is nothing left that is grand and good

Gray, *Flint and Feather*, 268.

[60] A United States reviewer, perhaps because he was able to displace American responsibility in Johnson's discussion of Canadian reserves, saw this clearly describing, "a sketch showing the present unhappy system of civilization of the British Northwest." Untitled, undated clipping.

[61] Johnson, "A Glimpse at the Grand River Indians," 7.

[62] Anne Collett, "Pauline Tekahionwake Johnson: Her Choice of Form," *Kunapipi* 19, no.1 (1997): 59.

reflected the tastes and style of her own generation of Six Nations women.[63] But the most important reason for her dual representation was an astute understanding of contemporary visual culture.

The confusion and ambivalence in nineteenth-century Canada about the 'half-breed' was apparent in imagery. Portraits with combined elements of both 'races'[64] were not particularly identified with mixed heritage[65] but with a primitive inability to adapt.[66] One 1876 editor lamented, "The negro is imitative in his disposition, and is happy to dress like a white man, but the Indian is not at all imitative to our social habits, and we have been guilty of encouraging him in his savage ways, by giving him blankets to wear instead of supplying him with shirts, coats and trousers."[67] In images such as a stereoscopic card of two 'Tuscarora Squaws', the fashionably dressed and coiffed tourists and blanket-wrapped and kerchiefed Haudenosaunee women were not considered examples of different yet equitable cultures (fig. 92).[68] Instead, the fusion of characteristics appeared to most Euro-Canadians as an 'incomplete' transformation to civilization.

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[63] In her article, "The Iroquois Women of Canada," Johnson highlighted a change in appearance between generations. With acculturation the Haudenosaunee had retained certain traditional forms of dress but adapted new materials and incorporated new construction elements. C. A. Lyford, *Iroquois Crafts.* (Ohsweken, ON: 1994), 21 & 22. Like a photograph of American Haudenosaunee, the clothing Johnson described among the older women on the Grand River Reserve was made of contemporary cloth materials such as cotton broadcloth or calico while the short overdress and longer under-dress were based on earlier forms, some pre-contact (fig. 91). As is visible in this photograph the basic style might be made simply and of everyday fabrics, or more elaborately decorated with embroidery and beading for ceremonial occasions. Johnson's generation, however, dressed according to contemporary middle-class fashion. The up to date 'Miss Iroquois' Johnson described had "discarded the broadcloth petticoat, the ill-shapen short dress, the picturesque head gear" for " a very becoming stuff gown, made in modern style" including, the necessary outdoor Euro-Canadian feminine accessories of "gloves and a straw hat". E. Pauline Johnson, "The Iroquois Women of Canada," *The Brantford Expositor* (8 Oct. 1895).

[64] Native individuals with both partial and full aboriginal origins were photographed and had photographs made that included attributes from traditional native cultures and contemporary Euro-Canadian society. These were sometimes representative of a fairly normative public style of appearance such as Johnson's own youthful portrait in Euro-Canadian dress with Haudenosaunee silver brooches but at other times such portraits were clearly ceremonial or commemorative.

[65] Unlike the clear stereotype of Indianness, those of mixed heritage were frequently visually subsumed by identification with one or another of their backgrounds. Images with any markers of native ethnicity, physiognomic and/or cultural, were often automatically labelled 'Indian' causing those of mixed heritage to disappear. People of mixed heritage who retained aspects of traditional native cultures in their dress or appearance were often just identified as 'Indian'. This seems to have been a fairly standard practice, to the extent that many of the historical images we currently study as 'Indian' may actually have been people of mixed heritage. This kind of blanket attribution often continues today. Others became invisible in the pages of studio photo albums because their features and acculturated style were not read as 'Indian.' This passing was not necessarily deliberate but a sign that without 'Indian features' (supposedly accurate physiognomic markers) they were imperceptible, becoming 'white' in the eyes of those who could not see people with native heritage as sophisticated, middle class individuals. People photographed with mixed attributes were most likely to be 'read' as mixed heritage only when they appeared in images with other aboriginals who were dressed completely in traditional forms.

[66] Many people responded negatively to these images because a mixture of aboriginal and Euro-Canadian elements thwarted non-native viewers' expectations in two distinctly contradictory

With regards to image, all native Canadians were caught between the proverbial rock and hard place. If they appeared in traditional dress, they were 'primitive' and 'savage.' If they wore so-called 'civilized' garb many viewers found it disappointing because they wanted to see something exotic. But when aboriginals appeared with attributes of both cultures many middle-class colonials responded with disdain and/or amusement. Rather than a valid interactive process, this was taken as visual proof of Indians' inability to progress.[69] It is significant Johnson chose to never publicly symbolize her cultural heritage by mixing attributes of native and Euro-Canadian. If she had chosen to represent

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ways. They were denied the visual thrill of viewing a romantic 'noble savage' but simultaneously the melange of native and non-native elements also appeared wrong and incomplete – as visual evidence of an inability to understand 'sophisticated' forms of civilization.

[67] Editor, "What Shall We Do With Our Indians?" *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, II no 3 (Sept. 1876). Quoted in Ellwood Parry, *The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1974), 139.

[68] In an account of Poundmaker's surrender during the Riel Rebellion in a later 1927 book, the author John MacLean describes the Euro-Canadians next to natives who are wearing war costume and "adorned with various garments worn by white ladies such as kid gloves and hats." The comparison MacLean says is of "civilization and savagery…in striking contrast". Quoted in Carter, *Capturing Women*, 123.

[69] In Johnson's literary representations, Anne Collet also points out that in "the progeny of interracial marriage, The Red does not melt into the White nor the White into the Red." Collet, "Red and White," 362.

herself like the Seneca woman, while an attractive and highly symbolic form of appearance, she risked the perception that she was, as one English traveler derogatorily described it, only "partly civilized in dress."[70]

Considering the circumstances of the time period, Johnson's choice to present both sides of her background was extraordinary. In a racist environment when mixed-heritage distinctiveness was being denied, she emphasised herself as a bi-racial woman. Her use of a distinct and ideal image of both the 'norm' and the 'other' was unique.[71] Visual representations of 'other' and 'norm' were intended to separate, to define and to enclose - creating two distinct groups, one dominant and one subordinate. Yet Johnson stepped back and forth across these boundaries in ways that broke, re-attached and molded them into new forms. Like the cultural interplay of 'other' and 'norm' described by Stuart Hall, at:

> different places, times, in relation to different questions, the boundaries are re-sited. They become, not only what they have, at times, certainly been – mutually excluding categories, but also what they sometimes are – differential points along a sliding scale.[72]

Interlocking two images with opposing social purposes and disparate conventions Johnson created a new interstitial space. Her movement along a 'sliding scale' carved out a gap where she negotiated a public identity capitalizing on constructive aspects of both 'other' and 'norm.' Using portraits Johnson was visually establishing what she argued in her written texts: that the 'half blood' was "a Canadian in the greatest sense of that great word."[73]

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[70] Roper, *By Track and Trail,*118. Reference originally noted in Silversides, *Face Pullers*, 145.

[71] While dual photographs (one with a bicycle and another in 'native' costume) were made of the young Penobscot Lucy Nicolar in 1897 and Zitkala-Sa was photographed in 1898 by both Gertrude Kasebier and Joseph T. Keiley in contemporary and then native-style dress, I have found no evidence that any native individual other than Johnson chose to create a public identity using dual images. The closest example to her hybrid representation was that of her own father.

[72] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference.* ed. Jonathon Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 228.

Johnson's public insistence on an original Canadian identity founded in two origins - both equitable, both valuable – was radical. Nonetheless, the words of her contemporaries demonstrate that many of them accepted the Canadian 'half blood' identity she predicated for herself. Albeit inflected by the racist skew of his own outlook, British literary critic Theodore Watts-Duncan implicitly acknowledged the nationalistic identity she forged, stating "of all Canadian poets she was the most distinctly a daughter of the soil, inasmuch as she inherited the blood of the great primeval race now so rapidly vanishing, and of the greater race that has supplanted it."[74]

In her second book of poetry, *Canadian Born*, Johnson expanded her hybrid concept of identity beyond the individual by portraying an identity for Canada itself. Defined by the introductory inscription, it was the peaceful co-existence of native and non-native, where "White Race and Red are one if they are but Canadian born."[75] In a newly developing country with its "hunger for unifying myths,"[76] Johnson linked her representation of the 'half blood' to a national foundation, an identity legitimated in her own words by the blending of blood between immigrants and First Nations. Adopting her family's native name, Tekahionwake next to E. Pauline Johnson, she linguistically anchored her dual heritages side by side, while further expressing them. Tekahionwake, which meant 'double life' was a most appropriate metaphor for her bicultural image.

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[73] In "The Shagganappi" the figure of the Governor General encourages Fire-Flint with these words: "you have blood in your veins that the whole world might envy…The blood of old France and the blood of a great aboriginal race that is the offshoot of no other races in the world. The Indian blood is a thing of itself, unmixed for thousands of years, a blood that is distinct and exclusive. Few white people can claim such a lineage. Boy, try and remember that as you come of Indian blood, dashed with that of the first great soldiers, settlers and pioneers in this vast Dominion, that you have one of the proudest places and heritages in the world; you are a Canadian in the greatest sense of that great word." Johnson, "The Shagganappi," 263. In the context of this story, the half-blood person is shown as strong and courageous with the best traits of both races.

[74] In the introduction to her collected book of poems *Flint and Feather.* E. Pauline Johnson, *Flint and Feather.* (Toronto: Musson, 1913), xvi.

[75] E. Pauline Johnson, *Canadian Born,* (Toronto: 1903), v.

In the end, however, Johnson's presentation cannot be viewed simply as one of duality or binary opposition – the 'passionate princess' versus the 'civilized lady.' As Hall would say, "Its complexity exceeds this binary structure of representation."[77] The emphasis today on Johnson's on-stage performance as Indian maiden followed by English lady (partially due to the memoirs of her last performing partner Walter McRaye) has obscured the more complex performance of identity Johnson's viewers were familiar with. The figure, un-pictured for us but visible to many of her audiences, included a civilized lady performing war whoops, the Indian princess reciting erudite verse and, overall, an engaging performer, captivating, witty, persuasive and charismatic.

It is the combined portraiture displayed in the 1893 Toronto *Globe* that more fully captures the multi-faceted aspects available to contemporary spectators (fig. 93). Resembling a contemporary photo-album page (with illustrated flowers, birds and inset portraits) the folio shows how Johnson used portraiture to publicly express a "more complex personality constructed from multiple perspectives taken at different points in time."[78] Several photographs illustrate Johnson in transition from her pivotal 'natural, laughing girl' to stage performer. There is also a fashionably winter-attired Johnson as one might see her on the street or in private portraits. She appears as pert New Woman (dressed in a white canoeing outfit and tam) and dramatically posed as re-appropriated princess. Viewers understood. They recognized that "though Miss Johnson's father was a Mohawk and her mother a pure-blooded English woman, the creative spiritual being whom men have known as Pauline Johnson, poetess, was much more than half Indian and half English."[79]

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[76] Gray, *Flint and Feather*, 253.
[77] Hall, "Cultural Identity," 228.

Johnson had broken the social boundaries designed to enclose 'half-breeds.'[80] But she had also broken the visual boundaries between 'white' and native. Viewers repeatedly expressed delighted shock at someone who moved beyond their expectations. The paradox of her double image intrigued, surprised and captivated nineteenth-century Canadians. As cultural activator, Pauline Johnson had become demonstrably more fascinating and larger than the stereotypes intended to confine her.

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[78] Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth Century Photography*. (Hampshire: Lund Humphries, 2001), 51.

[79] Dr. J.D. Logan, "A Mohawk Legacy: Miss Johnson's Collected Poems," unidentified newspaper, c. 1913. This sense of 'something more,' was a common element in descriptions of Johnson.

[80] As one journalist said, those "who, mistaking for natural laws what are only rules of social expediency, believe that no good can ever come from the intermixture of white and 'coloured' blood will be disposed to be somewhat less dogmatic on the point if they happen to know anything concerning the remarkable career and accomplishment of Miss E. Pauline Johnson." "An Anglo-Iroquois Poetess," *Glasgow Herald*, 31 March 1913.

"I am hoping for you all that is good, and happy, and inspiring, and noble, and above all, humanizing."

E. Pauline Johnson

A letter to a friend
Quoted in Charlotte Gray, *Flint and Feather*.

CONCLUSION

Like many aboriginals today, Johnson lived in a way that combined elements of the larger contemporary Canadian culture and elements of her native heritage. She lived a lifestyle many see as Euro-Canadian but her active reclamation of native heritage and her public loyalty to aboriginal peoples caused her to stand out. She did things differently. She traveled, she spoke in public, she performed on stage and most importantly, she challenged, sometimes on a daily basis, the societal norms and ideas intended to exclude her because of her 'race.' And in some ways the uniqueness of her lifestyle and person, refined and distilled into a distinctive public image, was greeted by a problematic response. For many people, to be the exception is to prove the rule. Johnson recognized this and its particularly racist overtones when it was applied to her. She stated to one reporter, "You will say I am not like other Indians, that I am not representative. That is not strange. Cultivate an Indian, let him show you his aptness, and you…say he is an exception."[1] The ideas Johnson was presenting - textually, verbally and visually - were alien. Dominated by their own prevailing worldview, it is doubtful that most audiences considered Johnson's concepts - particularly of equity between races and an ultimate Canadian identity resulting from racial amalgamation - beyond her personal identity.

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[1] From the 1893 *Boston Herald*. Quoted in Sheila Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth: A Celebration of E. Pauline Johnson - Tekahionwake 1861-1913* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books,1997),115. In a letter to author Charles Mair she wrote: "It drives me half mad to hear the public say that I am an exception to the general Indian, that my gifts and anything creditible [sic] I may be I owe to my mother. It is not so, but people begrudge the Indians even me with my poor inadequate voice, my littleness, my insuffient goodness." 12 June 1892. Quoted in Erica Aigner-Varoz, "Suiting Herself: E. Pauline Johnson's Constructions of Indian Identity and Self," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 2001), 56.

The label of exception was just one of several tools viewers could use to absorb and discount Johnson's critiques. Her exotic appearance which helped open doors could also be restricted by the labels viewers attached to it. 'Picturesque' was a particularly telling adjective when used to describe Johnson's appearance. A variety of reviewers used it to portray the effect of her presentation, applying it to her costume, her work, or her person. Her "Indian dress is most picturesque with its bright colors, gay beads and glittering ornaments and fringes."[2] "Miss Johnson has a most pleasing and attractive personality, which is distinctly enhanced by the effective and picturesque Indian costume."[3] She "carries out her work with the aid of much picturesque, natural, and remarkably effective gesture."[4] Appearing "in her picturesque native costume,"[5] "her whole performance is as picturesque as it is novel."[6] "These poems breathe the wild romance of the prairies, and were recited most picturesquely."[7]

Picturesque was a visual term originally used for scenery but by the nineteenth century was also being affixed to 'others.' People's aesthetic attributes (particularly women, the working class or poor and the 'colored') could be judged as pleasing, exciting or interesting but the individuals and their challenges limited by a caption deeming them decorative rather than powerful.[8] The native woman - as both female and exotic - was often the subject of the 'picturesque' label. Whether in a historical account where lakes were described as "linked over the tawny breast of this prairie like a necklace of silver coins strung over the bosom of an Indian princess, making her beautiful and picturesque" [9] or a Beadle dime novel where the mixed blood girl "attired in the picturesque garb of an Indian princess" is "decidedly pretty,"[10] the picturesque was always related to people or things that, like a landscape, were perceived as objects of a gaze.

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[2] "Y.M.C.A. Entertainment: The Johnson-Smily Combination Proves Very Attractive," Unidentified American newspaper, undated.
[3] Untitled clipping. [McMaster Archives]
[4] "Yesterday's Concert: 'Tekahionwake,'" *Morning Post*, 17 July 1906. (London)
[5] "'The Success of the Season,' Miss E. Pauline Johnson's Costume Recital," Unidentified newspaper, undated .
[6] "Poetess," *M.A.P.*, 21 July 1906. (London)
[7] "Miss Pauline Johnson's Recital," *Canada: An Illustrated Weekly for all Interested in the Dominion*, 21 July 1906 (Montreal, London, Toronto).

Did Johnson feel "straightjacketed by her audiences' stereotypic view of 'Indian maidens'"?[11] There were days when racist questions or remarks infuriated or discouraged her. As she wrote to Charles Mair, "it hurts me, pains me, aye bitterly infuriates me to hear of people, ill or well-bred, mouthing their opinions about a race they have only seen the ragged edge of –and those very tatters, torn by the finger nails of their own blood and nation."[12] Her continuing words, "I feel degraded in arguing or even differing with people of that stamp, but of course, these things are rarely said in my hearing, and I have the knowledge of their thoughts without the opportunity of combatting them,"[13] show the impotence and frustration she sometimes experienced. But, in the same month as her first (True Woman) photograph appeared in the 1890 *Globe*, she expressed that, "I have a double motive in all my work and all my strivings – one is to upset the Indian Extermination and noneducation theory – in fact to stand by my blood and my race."[14] This intent was layered throughout her public career. Johnson saw racist attitudes as a challenge to be overcome rather than a barrier restricting her. In writing and interviews she articulated frustrations and critiqued stereotypes. The most distinctive personal technique she used with words - reversing assumptions to expose specious beliefs - she also physically embodied in portraiture and performance. She delighted in startling viewers with a combination of a 'traditional' appearance and a contemporary middle-class woman. It was the ultimate inversion of expectations.

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[8] As Rayna Green argues about native peoples, "in the sub-idea of the picturesque…the Indian [was] understood as the beautiful but tragic representative of a primitive, dying world which must give way to civilization and to progress." Rayna Green, "The Only Good Indian: The Image of the Indian in American Vernacular Culture," (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1973), 189.

[9] William Henry Perrin, *Southwest Louisiana Biographical & Historical (1891),* available at the Parish of Vermilion, http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/la/vermilli/history/vermilio.txt; accessed 21 Aug. 2002.

[10] Edward L. Wheeler, *Deadwood Dick's Doom* (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur Westbrook Co., 1899), 4.

[11] Bunny McBride, "The Spider and the Wasp: Chronicling the Life of Molly Spotted Elk," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown & Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1996), 417.

[12] June 12, 1892. Quoted in Aigner-Varoz, "Suiting Herself," 56. In this letter to Charles Mair (whose female character she discussed in 'A Strong Race Opinion') Johnson was asking permission to quote portions of a letter he wrote to use in her next article because "my reasons for asking you must surely know it is that so few people believe any good can be said of Indians, thought of them, or done for them". Johnson was astutely trying to use a voice of authority, both male and literary, to attack racism.

If Johnson had performed the 'Indian princess' image without any personal connections to it, and had reiterated through her performance and writing the 'regulation Indian maiden,' she could be seen as an opportunist. She was after all, "willing to consent to anything legitimate, that will mean success in the end."[15] But Johnson used the physical image to authenticate a native ethnicity that was often questioned. Through it she simultaneously contested 'squaw' imagery, personally symbolized her heritage and created a platform where she spoke radical opinions. To herself and others, Johnson was first and foremost a poet, a bard, a 'singer'. And, it was with words that she inscribed and continually redefined a public identity. Signalling the important control she exerted over her public image during her lifetime, it was not until after her death that the woman primarily titled 'poetess' was textually reincarnated as 'Indian princess.'[16]

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[13] Ibid.
[14] The other motive Johnson expressed was to travel. Letter to Archie Cains, 20 April 1890. Quoted in Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag, eds. *E. Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake: Collected Poems and Prose* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), xvi.
[15] Ibid.

Where the 'picturesque' particularly oppressed Johnson was with regards to her femininity. The most gendered aspect of celebrity was a focus on ability and accomplishments as the marker of fame for men, and on physical appearance as the key requisite for women. Women, as Christine Battersby points out, were seen as a "potential sublime; powerful; ever-elusive; ever-threatening; a potential danger to the male ego" but they could be "reduced to the merely picturesque, framed into stasis by the male gaze." [17] In portraiture this control of difference could well be described as "Victorian Photographs of Famous Men & Fair Women."[18] What united photographs of female celebrity (whether of aristocrats, actresses, singers, dancers or other performers) were desirable aspects of women's sexuality. It was 'glamour' photography where fashion, line, composition and focus were all aimed at reproducing current ideals of feminine beauty. Visible in theatrical portraits of actors and actresses (fig. 94 & 95) is the contrast - inscribed by pose, dress and photographic style - which had appeared in Wetherell's poetry anthology. Reiterated in the theatre world were the same polarized images of 'sublime men of genius' and 'picturesque women.'[19]

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[16] Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson – Tekahionwake* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 124.

[17] Christine Battersby, "Gender and the Picturesque: Recording Ruins in the Landscape of Patriarchy," in *Public Bodies – Private States: New Views on Photography, Representation and Gender*, ed. Jane Brettle and Sally Rice (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 90. Uvedale Price, one of the originators of the concept of the picturesque, "would not back down from his attempt to link male sexual preferences with picturesque beauty." Ibid., 88.

[18] As it has been this is the title of a book about the work of Victorian photographer Julia Margaret Cameron, originally published in 1926.

"Wise in the ways of audiences, Johnson treasured good looks."[20] Her physical appeal and femininity, which helped open so many doors in the entertainment industry, dominated her public appearance. She knew her appearance must continue to fulfill the expectation of desirability that was expected in a female star. That ideal took time and money to maintain and was easily threatened through disease or aging, both of which Johnson faced. In December of 1901 Johnson became severely ill with erysipelas while on tour. An infectious disease that injures skin tissue, in Johnson's case, it also caused her hair to fall out (fig. 96). As she recovered she immediately began reconstructing her appearance. She wore makeup to cover her damaged complexion and adopted a wig for the first part of her performances and then (because it itched) a picture hat for the second half.[21]

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[19] Battersby argues that the 'picturesque' functioned as an intermediate category between 'beauty' (an attractive but non-threatening attractiveness) and the 'sublime' (an out-of-control wildness acceptable in men but too overwhelming in women). By using the picturesque "the very wildness and savagery of nature was idealised, emphasised and promoted as desirable – as long as its potential for disorder could be contained by the controlling power of the male author or male spectator." Battersby, "Gender and the Picturesque," 90.

[20] Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 99.

[21] See figure 42, where it appears that Johnson is wearing a hairpiece extension, perhaps attached by the feathered headband. Johnson's gratitude that her subterfuge hid the effects of her debilitating illness was a symptom of the "contradictory discourse of the 'natural'" whereby femininity was based on a beauty "simultaneously guaranteed as natural and – like her health – always threatened and dependent on the constant work of constructions and artifice." Margaret

In a gender and age-prejudiced milieu Johnson also tried to use photographic portraiture to control the impact of her changing face and body on her public career. Considered by some to be in her best looks around her mid-to-late thirties she continued to display photographs from 1895-1897 for another decade (like her 1895 portrait used on London publicity posters in 1906 – see fig. 97 & fig. 2).[22] When she did have new portraits made she usually tilted her head up to mitigate the effect of a developing double chin (fig. 98). In several letters and comments to friends Johnson expressed the problem: "I lose every time people undertake to estimate when I was born. You see when a woman depends upon the public for her bread and butter she *must not get old*."[23] Even as she confronted death Johnson faced the exhausting requirement of remaining young and beautiful to the public. Emaciated by debilitating cancer she chose a sealed coffin and requested that no one see her body and no images be made following her death.[24]

Examining Johnson's portraiture today has valuable learning points for us. Clearly, the stereotyped Euro-Canadian images of 'Indianness' she tried to invert remain. It is a common experience for native individuals to find their ethnicity or

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Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London & New York: Routledge, 1996), 150.

[22] While a fairly typical practice of many female performers it sometimes backfired. In one incident a small-town president of a Ladies' Aid questioned Johnson's authenticity because of her photographs. "She had the air of one who has been badly fooled. 'Be you the real Pauline Johnson?' she asked dourly. I said I was the one and only. 'Be them your photoygraphs?' pointing an accusing finger at my advertising posters! I admitted this also, and foolishly asked 'Why?' The President looked grimly from me to the photographs and back again. 'Well I reckon those pictures was took a right smart time ago!' said she, for she was a great believer in speaking the truth in line!" Quoted in Strong Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 98.

[23] Ibid. From a letter to J.E. Wetherell, 20 Feb. 1895.

[24] Despite this, her friend and Vancouver sculptor Charles Sergison Marega, made a death mask from her face. Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, 208.

origins questioned because they do not appear like a 'physiological type' or because they are active, contemporary individuals. Many find the most difficult fight is fought within to maintain a positive internal sense of identity while surrounded by the 'worlding of their world.' Tom Hill, a contemporary Seneca from Johnson's own Grand River reserve says,

> So often we are thought of as the stoic Indian riding on the plain or off into the sunset. That is such a romantic, stereotypical image, the kind that people love…We often encourage that image of "the Indian" ourselves. For instance, if I go on parade I'll put on my leather fringe jacket, my war bonnet and stand by a tipi. I'll do all the things you want me to in order to convince you I'm an Indian.[25]

Yet Hill also points out "these images help people evade dealing with some of the other social issues of native identity."[26] Contemporary aboriginals continue to struggle to be recognised as native and yet, at the same time, not be controlled or defined by 'Indian' stereotypes.

Hill believes that "it's important to demystify some of our ideas about who we are" and emphasizes that while "we have sometimes perpetuated stereotypes of Indians…that has to change."[27] It is in this context that a disturbing question arises regarding Johnson's public ethnicity. Seen in Canada, the United States and England, Johnson's image included a red blanket – a feature that was not a significant visual attribute of the Indian Princess (fig. 99). Yet only two years after her death, "from 1915 through the 1940s, the dominant representation of the

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[25] The Haudenosaunee used a different type of feather headdress than the Plains feather bonnet that Hill alludes to. As a member of a Longhouse tribe there were, of course, no tepees, and, fringed buckskin is not normal contemporary dress. Tom Hill, "A Question of Survival," *All Roads are Good: Native Voices on Life and Culture* (Washington & London: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 191.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

Indian Princess," according to Gail Guthrie Valaskakis became "the 'red tunic lady'" (fig 100).[28] Artistically draped in red blankets, beautiful Indian princesses appeared on advertising, in calendars, on art or postcards 'gazing wistfully' as they posed amidst scenic 'mountains, waterfalls and moonlit lakes.' Was the sudden popularity of 'red-blanketed' Indian maidens a coincidence? Had Johnson's public image, now no longer under her personal control, become a catalyst and the icon for a new incarnation of the visual stereotype?

There remain other questions. How were her portraits used posthumously - for example, in later editions of her books, or in articles by journalists with access to formerly private photographs? And, how did her portraiture affect her reputation in the twentieth century? Johnson was one of the most famous women in Canada when she died in 1913 in Vancouver.[29] Yet few Canadians born after the Second World War can answer the question, "Who is Pauline Johnson?"[30] In the 91 years since her death Johnson's reputation has undergone periods of acceptance and rejection. With the pandemic influenza and First World War, her literary accomplishments were initially relegated to the sidelines. During the

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[28] Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, "Sacajawea and Her Sisters: Images and Indians," in *Indian Princesses and Cowgirls: Stereotypes from the Frontier*, ed. Marilyn Burgess and Gail Guthrie Valaskakis (Montreal: Oboro, 1995), 27.

[29] Newspapers across the country trumpeted her passing and included articles about her life and career. Vancouver government offices were closed for an hour, flags flew at half-mast and the streets were lined with mourners including rows of Squamish natives from the nearby reserve. She was the only person in contemporary times to be buried in Stanley Park (a feat accomplished through the political string-pulling of influential friends, including a special request by the Duke of Connaught).

[30] There are pockets of individuals (particularly those with a Canadian literary or historical interest, or from areas of Ontario where she is included in the school curriculum because of her local role) who are still familiar with Johnson's name. Some seniors can still recite her most famous poem, 'The Song My Paddle Sings.' For one I know personally, she is a favourite poet and a gift of *Flint and Feather* (Johnson's most famous collection of poems and the all-time best-selling book of Canadian poetry) was the occasion for an all-nighter in which every poem in the book had to be read.

1920's, however, as Indian princess images grew to become "one of the icons of consumer society"[31] interest in Johnson revived and was crowned with the first biography in 1931, *The Mohawk Princess* by Mrs. W. Garland Foster. Generations of school children memorized Johnson's most popular poem *'The Song My Paddle Sings'* but perceived as an 'Indian Princess' (even in literary circles) she was increasingly on the unacceptable side of a literary divide that condemned populism.[32] Her poetry began receiving harsh criticism and was gradually marginalized.[33] In the heyday of modernism, it was not surprising that her poetry with its romance, ethnicity and activism would be rejected. But, what about her visual image? Her romantic and ethnically oriented portraits would have been pure 'kitsch' to modernists. What role did her photographs play in their perceptions?

In the long term, Johnson's strategy for self-identification in a unique interstitial space – the space of 'white and red', of Euro-Canadian and aboriginal – has again succeeded. Almost 100 years later, much of the material published around her uses dual portraiture. The 1998 republication of *Moccasin Maker* includes one of the native-style portraits on the front and Johnson's 'English Lady' portrait on the interior frontispiece. Sheila Johnston's biographical resource book, *Buckskin and Broadcloth*, shows Johnson doubly-posed, facing herself in both Indian costume and fancy dress (fig. 101). Online, the banner of the McMaster University project 'The Pauline Johnson Archive' salutes the visual identity Johnson forged a century ago with their dual feature of a native and Euro-Canadian portrait (fig. 102).[34] Finally, aboriginal poet Joan Crate's *Pale as Real Ladies: Poems for Pauline Johnson* evocatively places a middle-class studio portrait of Johnson on a cream-coloured cover which subtly shades to beige where Tekahionwake gazes at her from the back cover (fig. 103).

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[31] Daniel Francis, *Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press),175.

[32] Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson have capably demonstrated the impact of intellectual modernism on Johnson's posthumous literary reputation. In seeking to develop a unique sense of a modern Canadian literary genre, critics focused on the concept of man in isolation against an unforgiving nature. Johnson's own work was an example of positive cooperation with nature. Moreover, her native poems, rather than poetic allusions to *la belle sauvage*, were diatribes against the treatment of native peoples in Canada. Finally, there was her gender. As Strong-Boag and Gerson point out, "Canadian modernism's insistence on its own immaculate conception, at McGill University in Montreal in the late 1920s, led its proponents to pillory its female companions and precursors as 'virgins of sixty who still write of passion.'" *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 125.

[33] This was highlighted by events in 1961. One hundred years after her birth Johnson was the first author, the first woman (other than the Queen) and the first aboriginal to be honoured with a stamp by Canada Post. Paul Gessel, ""Rediscovering Pauline," *Edmonton Journal* 24 Sept. 2000, E12. But at the same time as she was being memorialized through significant public gestures, literary critics were using the moment of public recognition to pan her work. Strong-Boag and Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe*, 122, 130-131.

Today, I consider one of the most effective images of Johnson to be *Coup Stick Marks for Pauline* by Cree artist George Littlechild (fig. 104). Using one of her own native-style portraits, Littlechild has overpainted it with vibrant colours and symbols. Large bands of green, red and purple allude to Hudson's Bay Company stripes while small rows of lines - tallies of coup stick marks – demonstrate how Johnson counted coup by touching her opponents. Five-pointed stars represent 'star' status but also symbolize hope and ageless endurance. The chosen portrait displays Johnson's deliberate engagement of the viewer. Her serious hands-on-hips posture combined with relaxed body language and almost-smiling expression creates tension that communicates on multiple levels. She is charming us, negotiating us. Littlechild's colourful intervention reveals how we also help to create the picture. The over-painting affirms the interaction of viewers who bring their own 'colors,' their beliefs, their own visions, to her portrait.

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[34] McMaster University has scanned their large collection of Johnson materials, making a variety of images and clippings accessible through the Internet. Their collection is based on four bequests, the two major ones being from Evelyn Johnson (Pauline Johnson's surviving sister) and Johnson's last touring partner, Walter McRaye.

For myself, I have never escaped the impact of the very first photograph I saw of Johnson. I had been confronted many years ago with the statement, "We are all recovering racists." At the time I was offended because I did not see what Patricia Hill Collins describes as the 'root of the oppressor,' in me.[35] By disturbing my expectations, Johnson's portrait revealed a hidden world of prejudice within - exposing a racism that infects both my culture and myself. This allowed me to begin the process of 'recovery'. Viewing that photograph years later, I continue to savour the delighted shock of disrupted beliefs.

I believe Pauline Johnson is still counting coup on us today.

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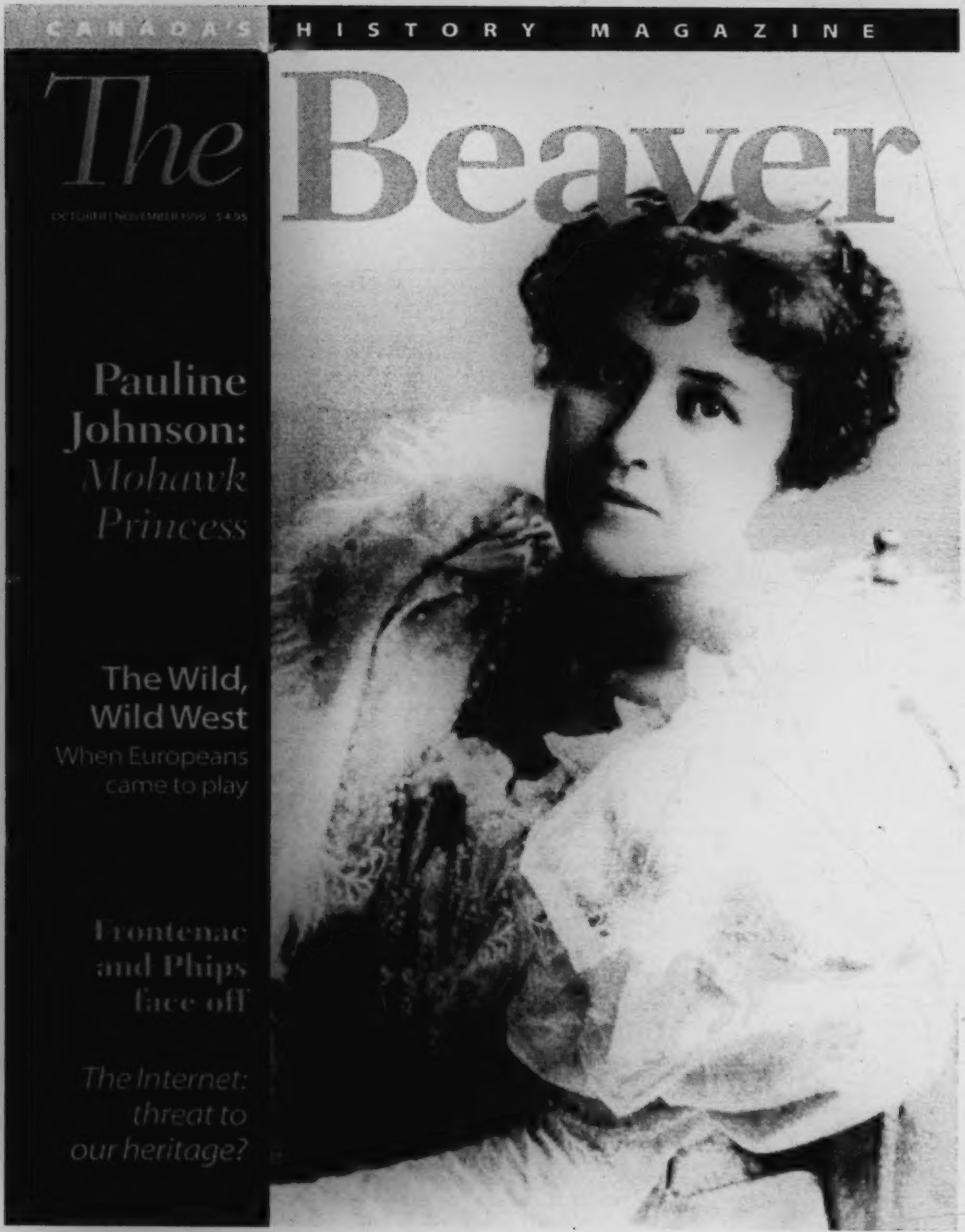
[35] Patricia Hill Collins, "Toward a New Vision: Race, Class and Gender as Categories of Analysis and Connection," *Race, Sex & Class* 1, no.1 (Fall 1993): 23-24.



CANADA'S HISTORY MAGAZINE

The Beaver

OCTOBER | NOVEMBER 1999 $4.95

Pauline Johnson: *Mohawk Princess*

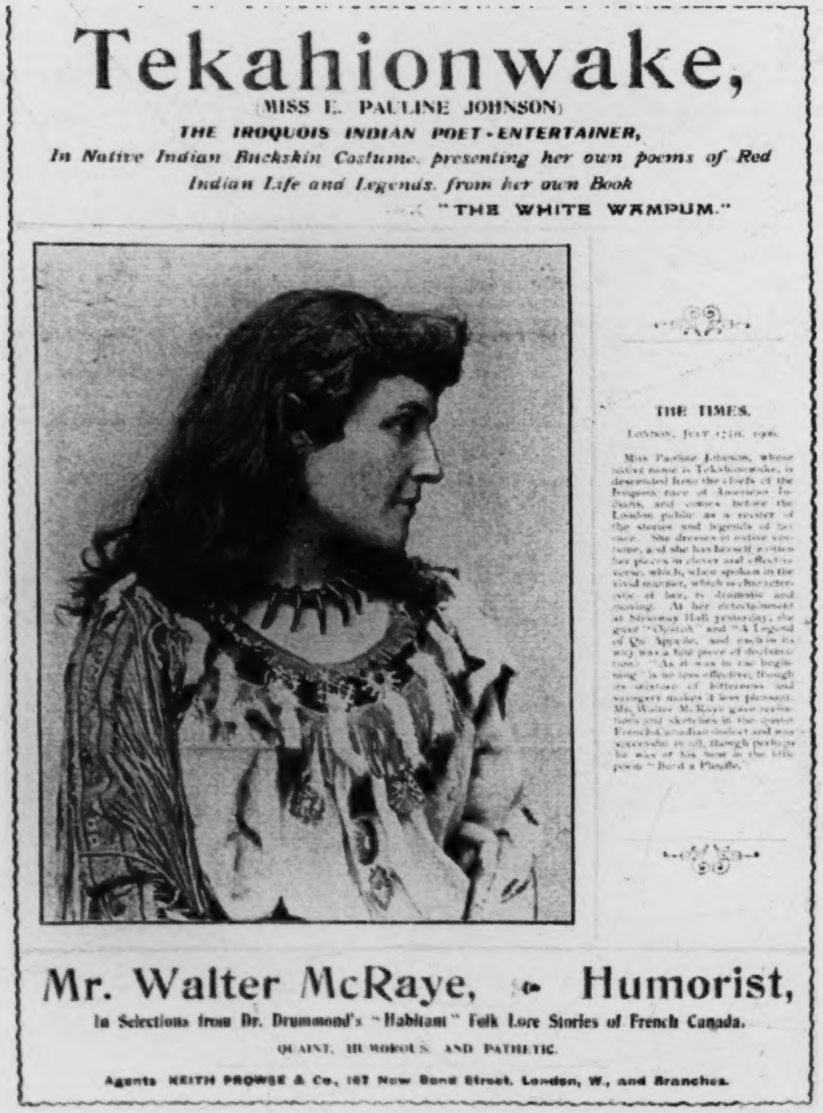
The Wild, Wild West
When Europeans came to play

Frontenac and Phips face off

The Internet: threat to our heritage?

Figure 1

"Pauline Johnson: Mohawk Princess," The cover of *The Beaver* 79:5 (October/November 1999).



Tekahionwake,

(MISS E. PAULINE JOHNSON)

THE IROQUOIS INDIAN POET-ENTERTAINER,

In Native Indian Buckskin Costume, presenting her own poems of Red Indian Life and Legends, from her own Book

"THE WHITE WAMPUM."

THE TIMES.

LONDON, JULY 17TH, 1906.

Miss Pauline Johnson, whose native name is Tekahionwake, is descended from the chiefs of the Iroquois race of American Indians, and comes before the London public as a reciter of the stories and legends of her race. She dresses in native costume, and she has herself written her pieces in clever and effective verse, which, when spoken in the vivid manner, which is characteristic of her, is dramatic and moving. At her entertainment at Steinway Hall yesterday, she gave "Ojistoh" and "A Legend of Qu'Appelle," and each in its way was a fine piece of declamation. "As it was in the beginning" is no less effective, though its mixture of bitterness and savagery makes it less pleasant. Mr. Walter M. Raye gave recitations and sketches in the quaint French-Canadian dialect and was successful in all, though perhaps he was at his best in the little poem "Bord à Plouffe."

Mr. Walter McRaye, Humorist,

In Selections from Dr. Drummond's "Habitant" Folk Lore Stories of French Canada.

QUAINT, HUMOROUS, AND PATHETIC.

Agents KEITH PROWSE & Co., 167 New Bond Street, London, W., and Branches.

Figure 2

Publicity poster produced for Johnson's second trip to England, 1906, photograph. c. 1895.

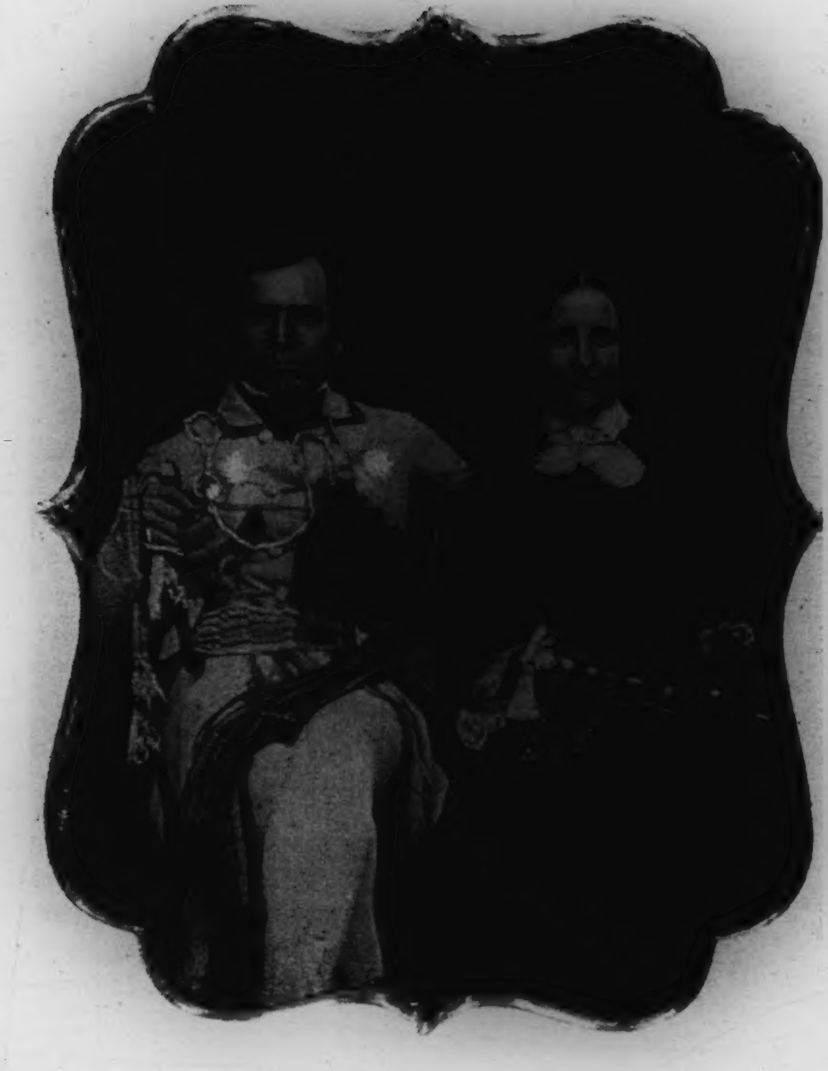


Figure 3

Probable wedding portrait of Emily Susanna Howells and George Henry Martin Johnson, daguerreotype, c. 1853.

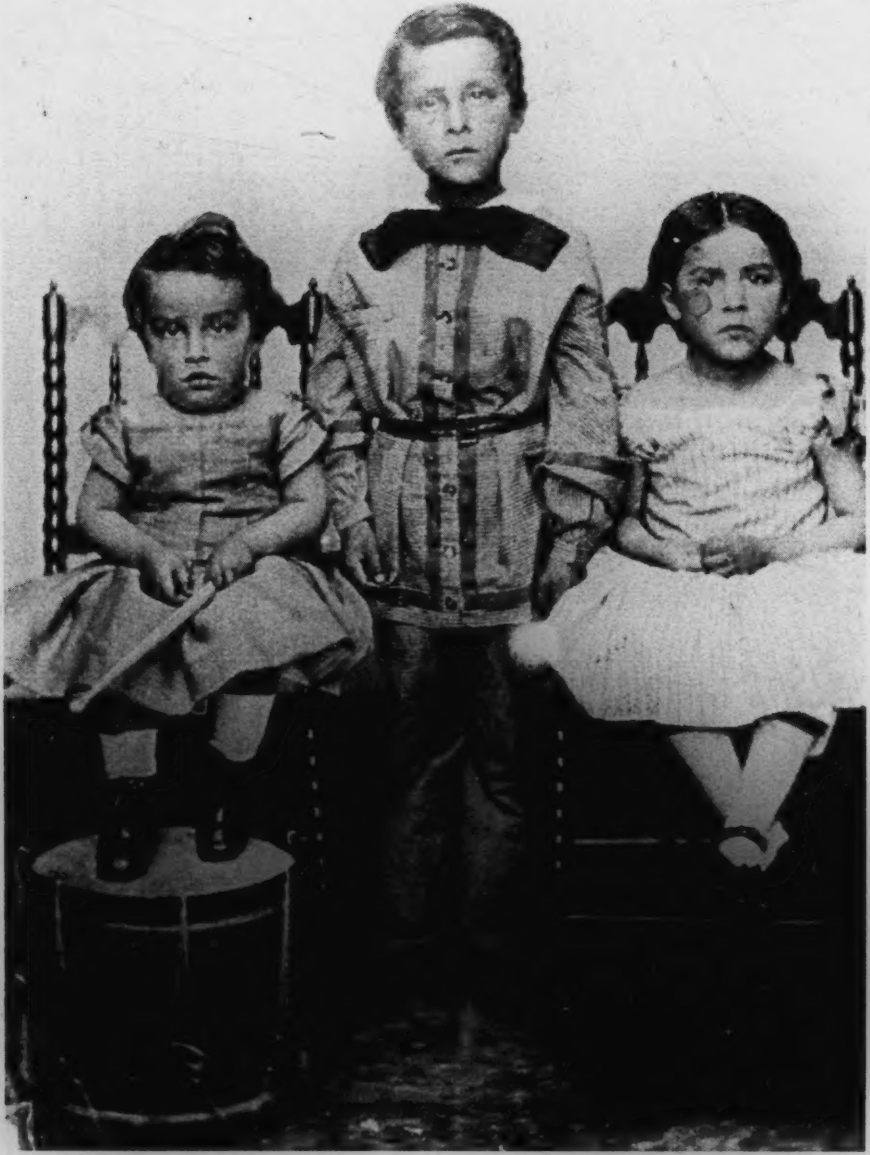


Figure 4

Allen Wawanosh, Henry Beverly and Evelyn H.C. Johnson, c. 1861.

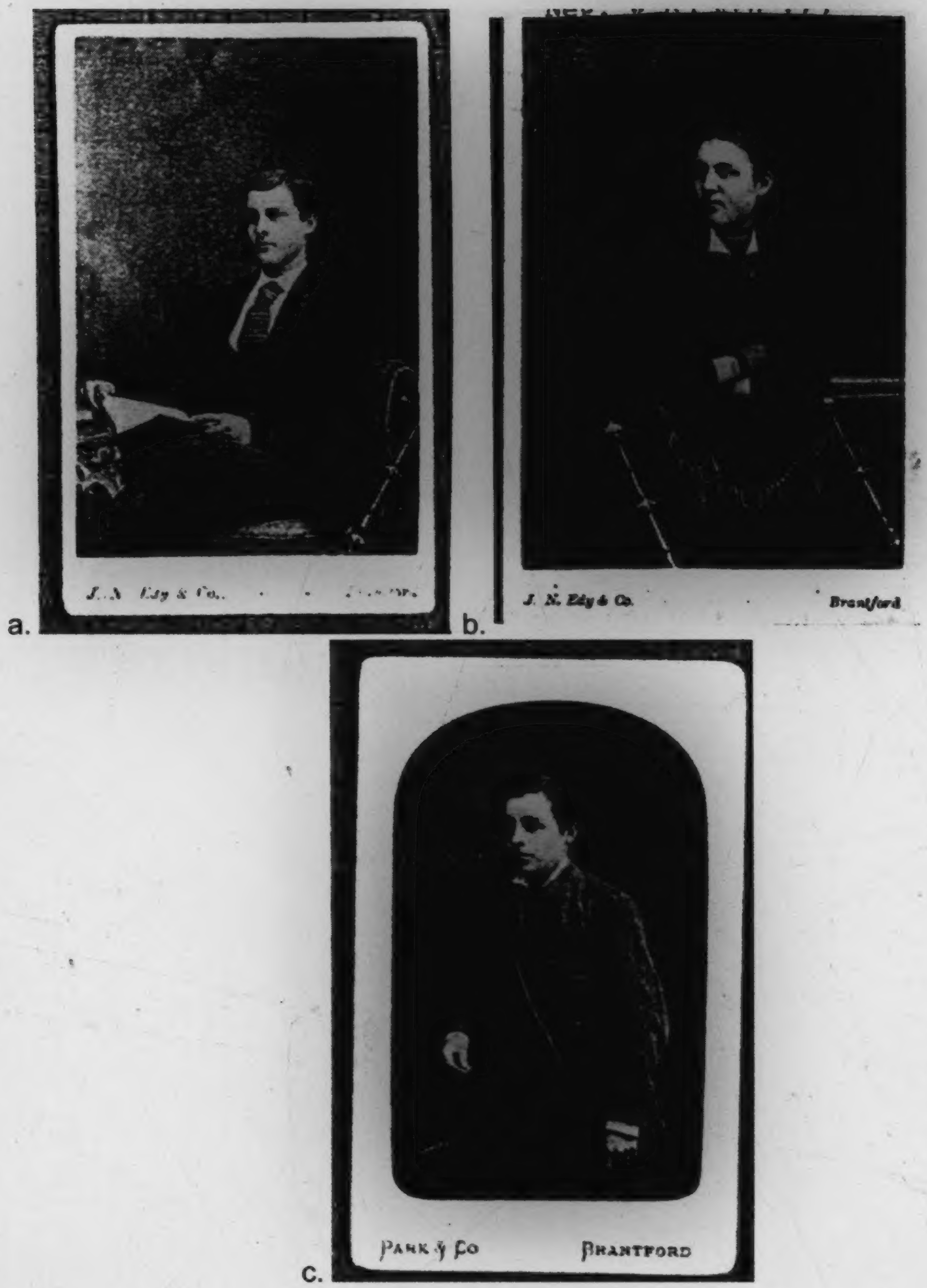

a.
J. N. Edy & Co.
b.
J. N. Edy & Co.
Brantford
c.
Park & Co
Brantford

Figure 5

a: J.N. Edy & Co., *Henry Beverly Johnson*, 21 January 1873, Brantford.

b: J.N. Edy & Co., *Evelyn (Eva) Johnson,* 21 January 21 1873, Brantford.

c: Park & Co., *Allen Wawanosh Johnson*, 21 January 21 1878, Brantford.

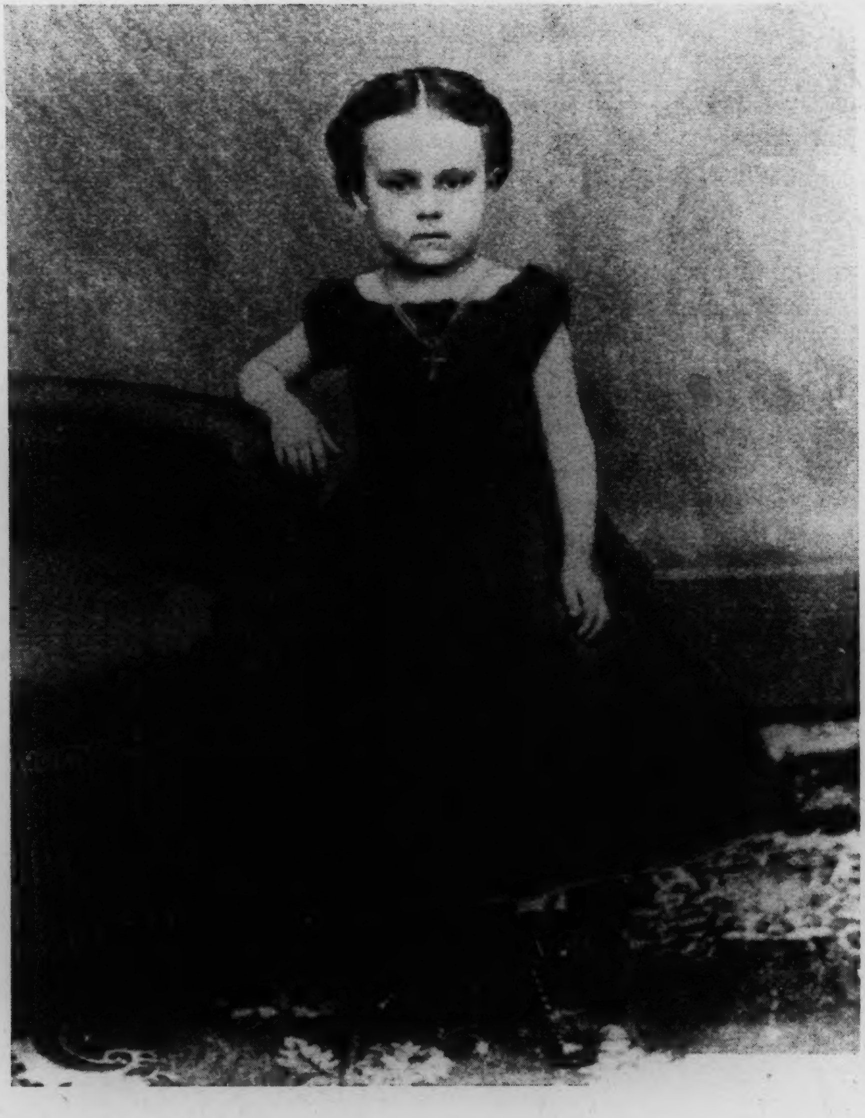


Figure 6

Pauline Johnson at three years of age, 1864.

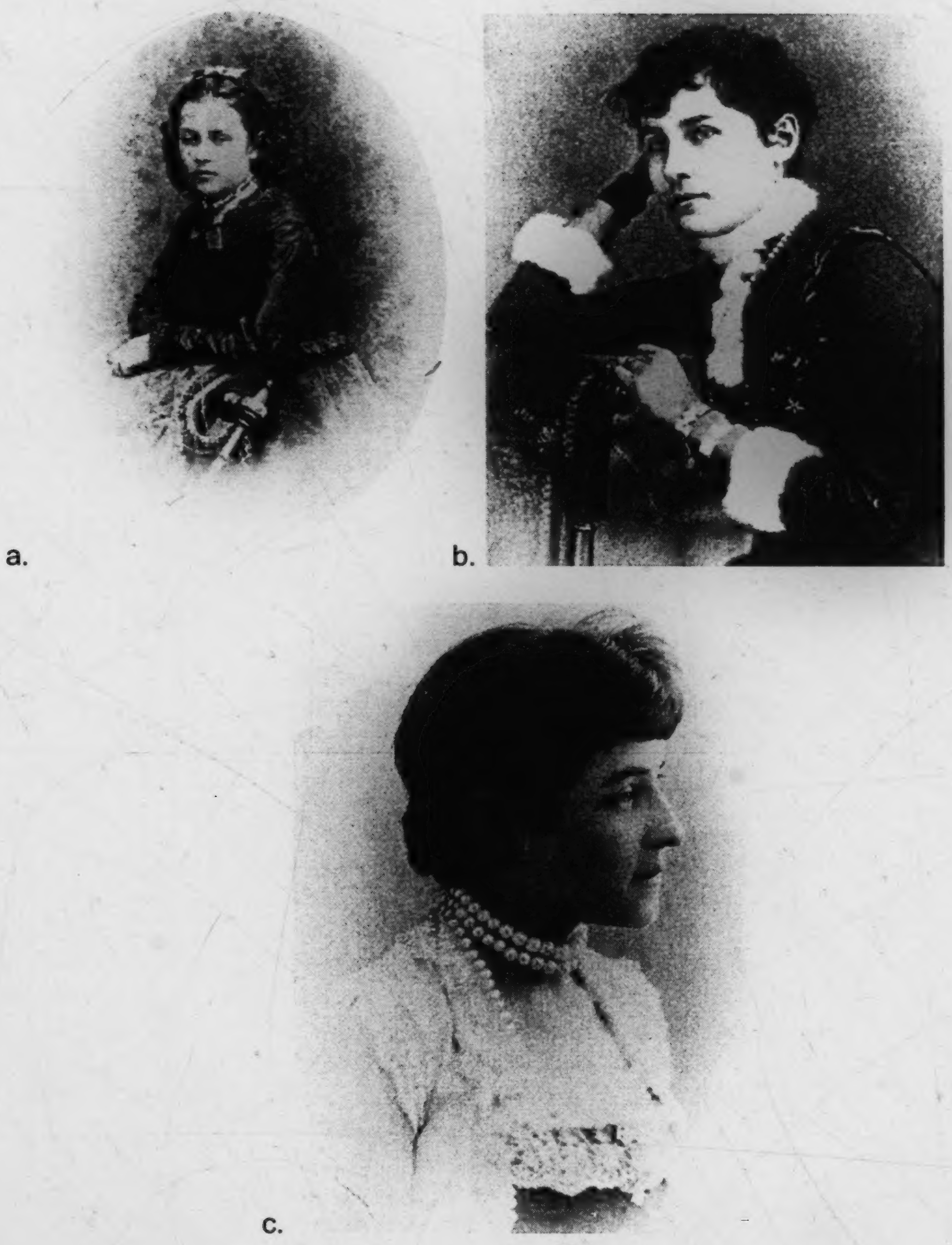


Figure 7

a: Jas. N. Edy & Co., *Pauline Johnson at age eleven*, 1872, Brantford.

b: *Adolescent Pauline Johnson*.

c: *Pauline Johnson in her twenties*, c. 1886.

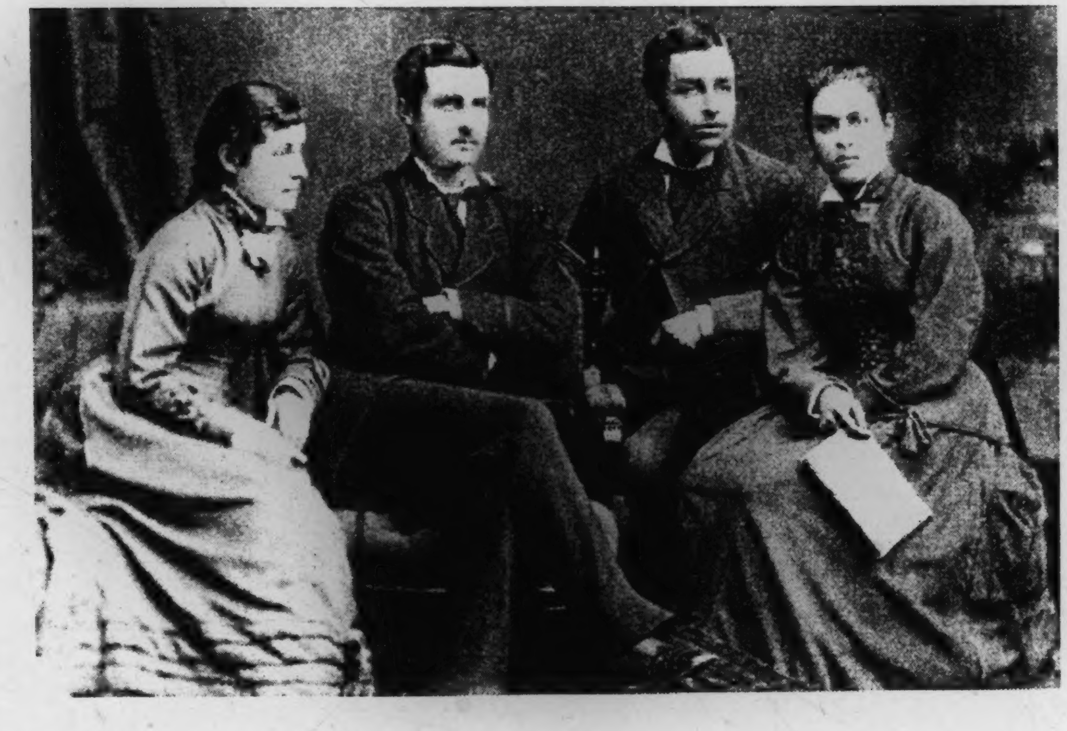


Figure 8

Park and Co., *The Johnson siblings*, 1878, Brantford.

From left to right: Pauline (16 years old), Henry Beverly, Allen and Evelyn.

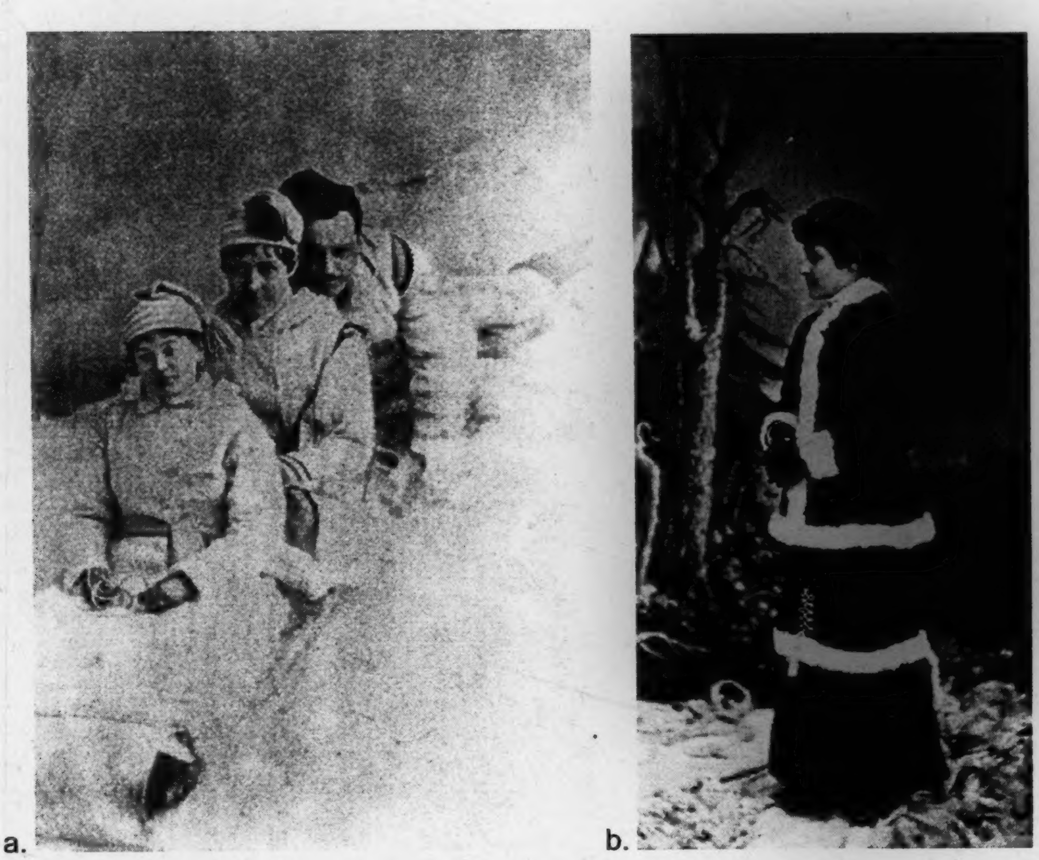


Figure 9

a: *A faux tobogganing portrait*, c. 1870s.

[Johnson is in the middle with her brother Beverly behind her. The girl in front may be their cousin Kate.]

b: *Studio portrait of Johnson in a winter setting*, 1880.

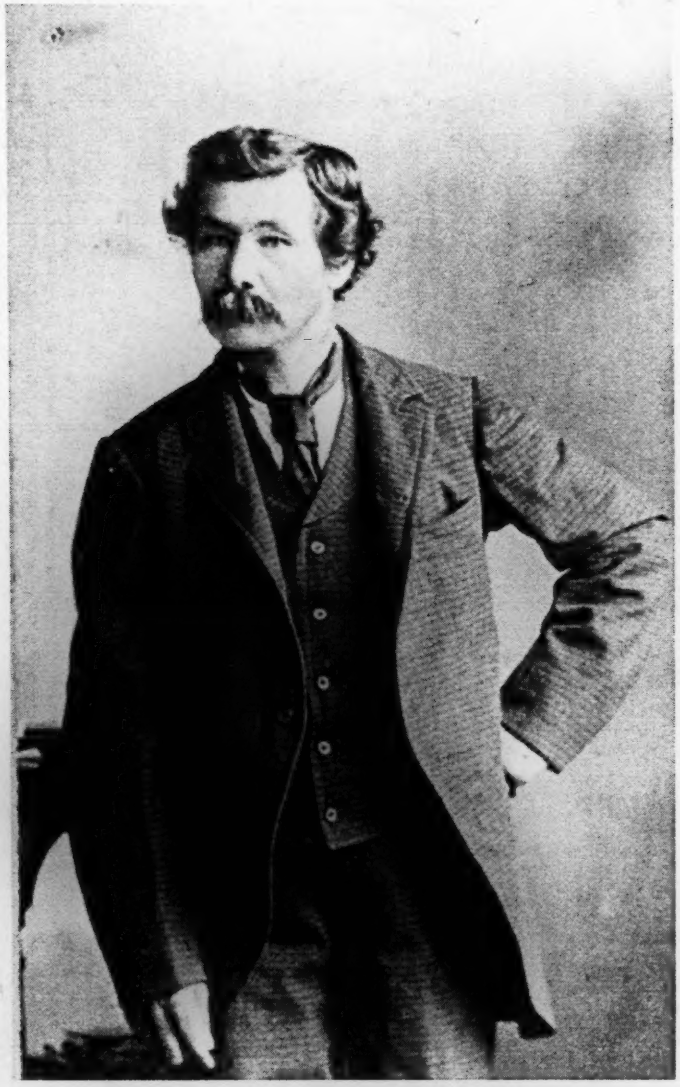


Figure 10

Hiram Johnson, cousin to George Johnson (Pauline's father), July 1898.

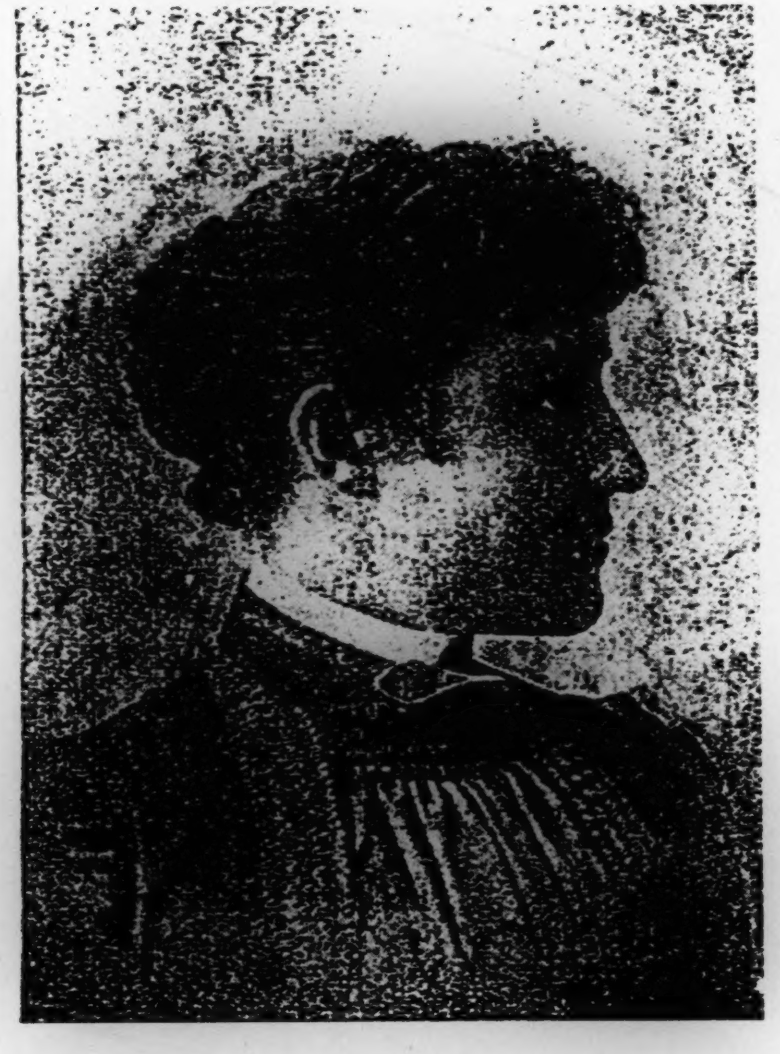
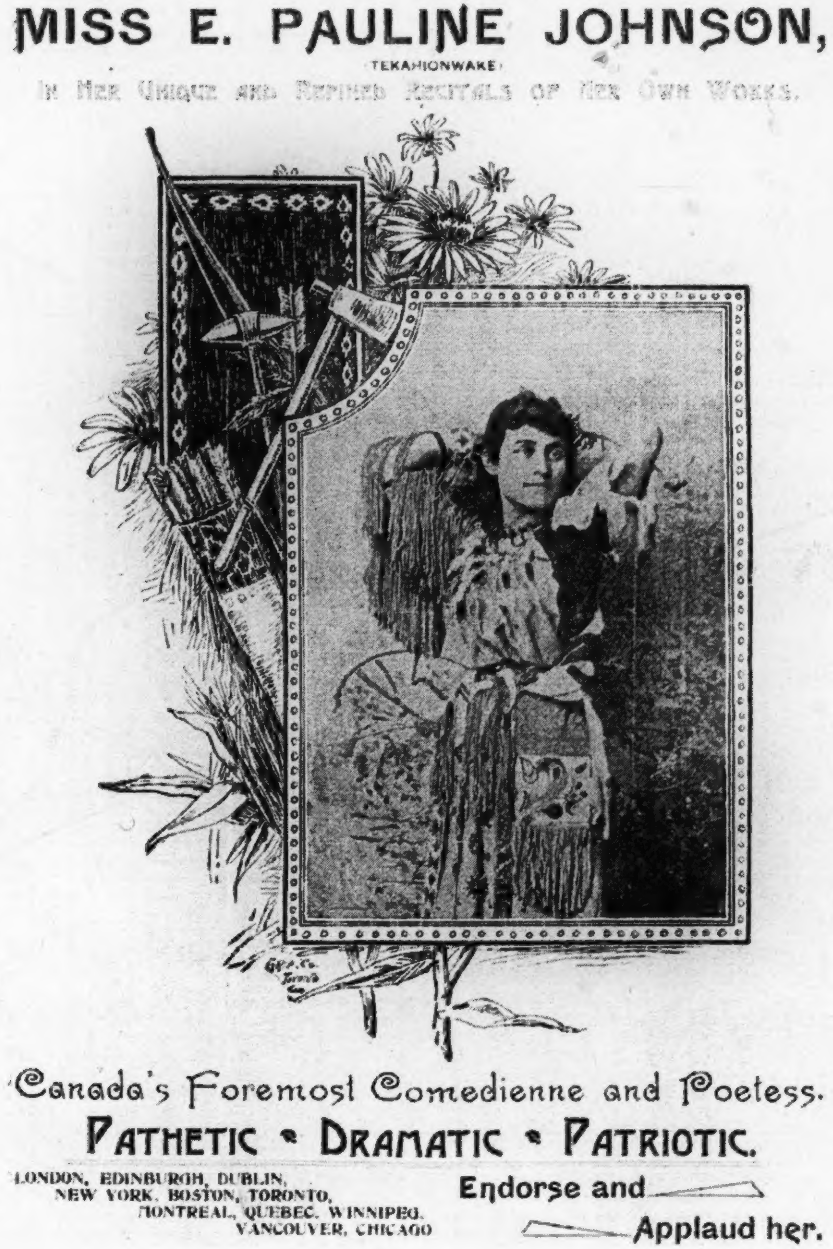


Figure 11

Miss. E. Pauline Johnson, photograph in Toronto *Globe*, April 1890.



MISS E. PAULINE JOHNSON,
(TEKAHIONWAKE)
IN HER UNIQUE AND REFINED RECITALS OF HER OWN WORKS.

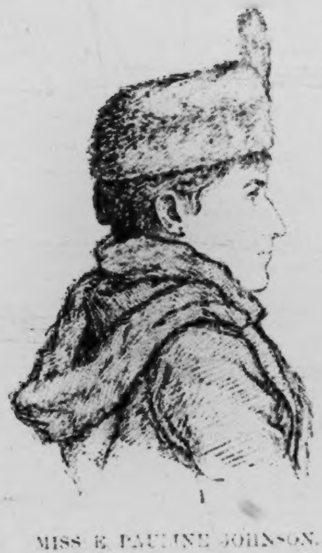
Canada's Foremost Comedienne and Poetess.
PATHETIC • DRAMATIC • PATRIOTIC.

LONDON, EDINBURGH, DUBLIN,
NEW YORK, BOSTON, TORONTO,
MONTREAL, QUEBEC, WINNIPEG,
VANCOUVER, CHICAGO

Endorse and
Applaud her.

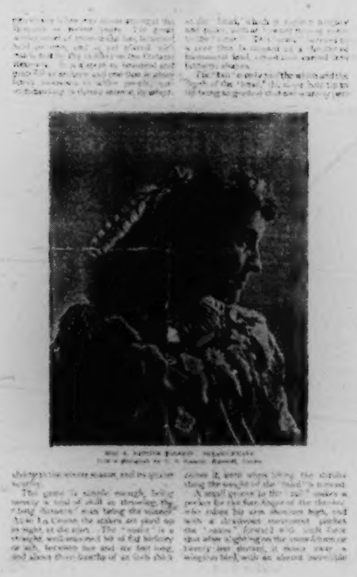
Figure 12

E. Pauline Johnson publicity, front of four-page advertising flyer, 1900.



MISS E. PAULINE JOHNSON.

a.



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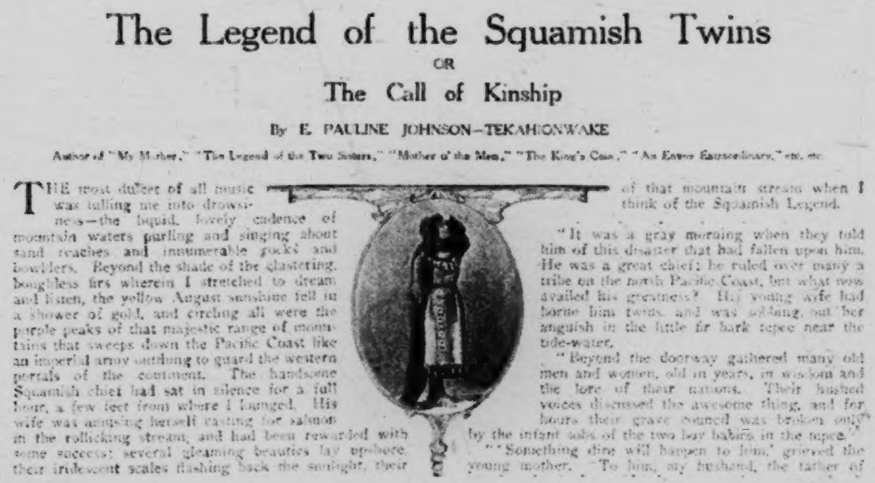


The Legend of the Squamish Twins

OR

The Call of Kinship

By E. PAULINE JOHNSON—TEKAHIONWAKE

Author of "My Mother," "The Legend of the Two Sisters," "Mother o' the Men," "The King's Coat," "An Envoy Extraordinary," etc. etc.

THE most dulcet of all music was lulling me into drowsiness—the liquid, lovely cadence of mountain waters purling and singing about sand reaches and innumerable rocks and bowlders. Beyond the shade of the clustering, boughless firs wherein I stretched to dream and listen, the yellow August sunshine fell in a shower of gold, and circling all were the purple peaks of that majestic range of mountains that sweeps down the Pacific Coast like an imperial army outflung to guard the western portals of the continent. The handsome Squamish chief had sat in silence for a full hour, a few feet from where I lounged. His wife was amusing herself casting for salmon in the rollicking stream, and had been rewarded with some success; several gleaming beauties lay up-shore, their iridescent scales flashing back the sunlight, their

of that mountain stream when I think of the Squamish Legend.

"It was a gray morning when they told him of this disaster that had fallen upon him. He was a great chief; he ruled over many a tribe on the north Pacific Coast, but what now availed his greatness? His young wife had borne him twins, and was sobbing out her anguish in the little fir bark tepee near the tide-water.

"Beyond the doorway gathered many old men and women, old in years, in wisdom and the lore of their nations. Their hushed voices discussed the awesome thing, and for hours their grave council was broken only by the infant wails of the two boy babies in the tepee.

"'Something dire will happen to him,' grieved the young mother. 'To him, my husband, the father of

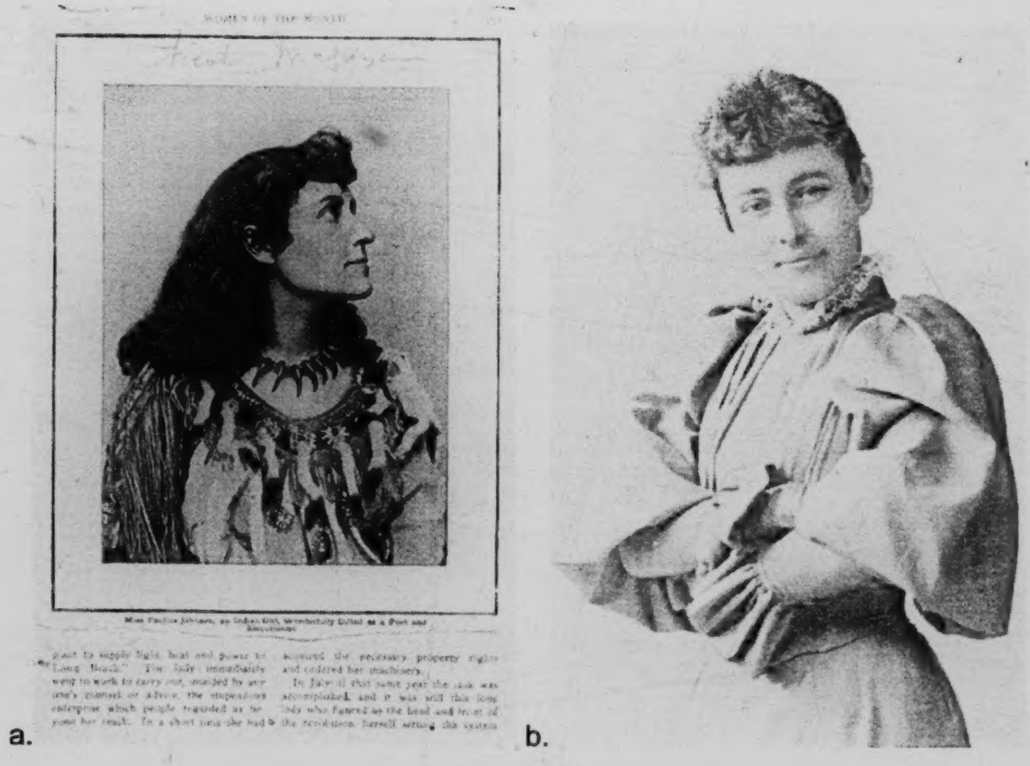
c.

Figure 13

a: *Johnson in fashionable winter clothing,* author illustration, "The Iroquois of the Grand River," *Harpers Weekly*, 23 June 1894.

b: *Close-up portrait of Johnson in native-style dress,* author photograph, "Gambling among the Iroquois," *Ludgate*, January 1897.

c: *Johnson posing in native-style dress,* author photograph, "The Legend of the Squamish Twins," *Mother's Magazine*, 16-17 July 1910.



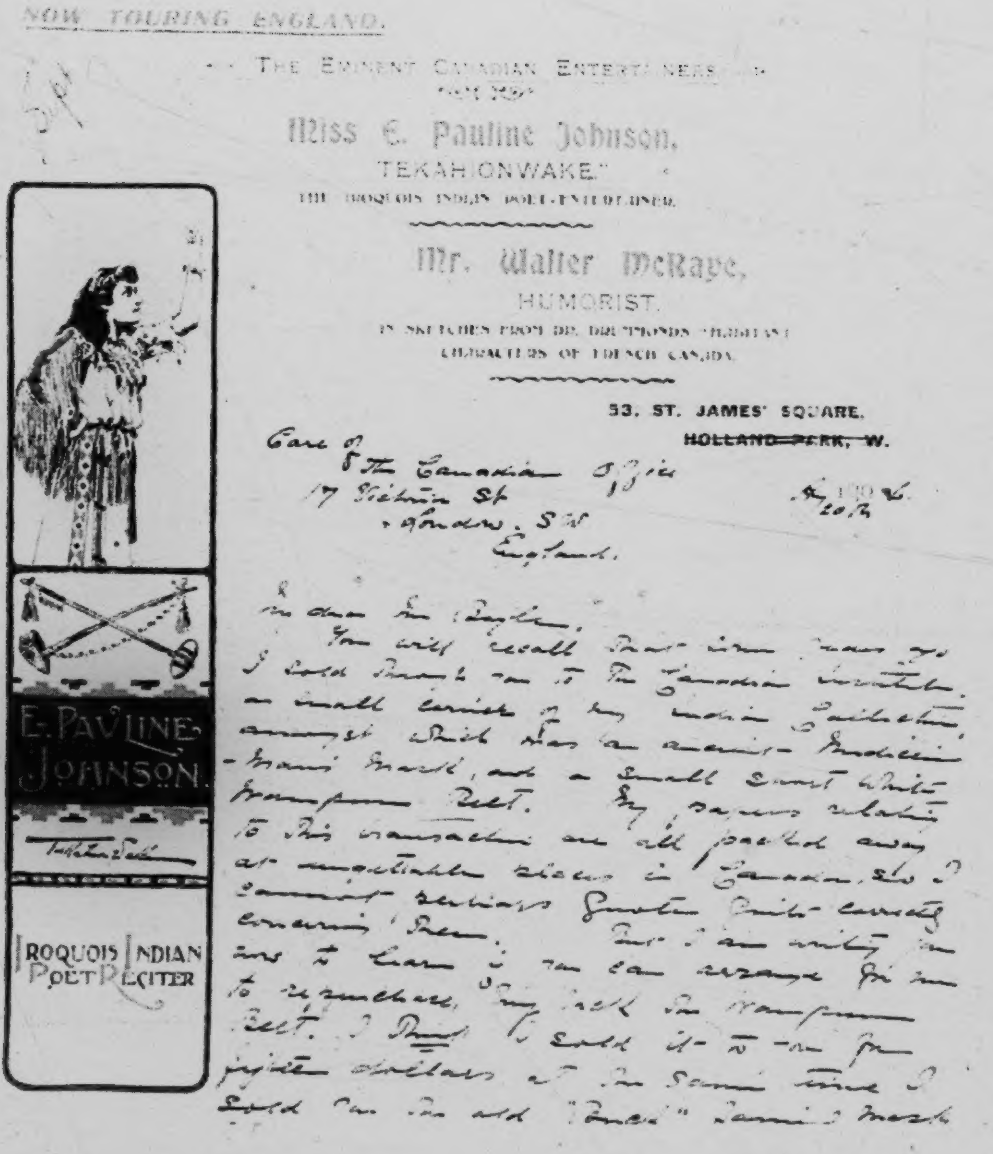
a.

b.

Figure 14

a: “Miss Pauline Johnson,” *[?] Magazine*, 1899.

b: “E. Pauline Johnson,” portrait appearing with article “Prominent Canadian Women: No. 5. Miss Pauline Johnson,” *The Ladies Pictorial Weekly*, c. 1892.



NOW TOURING ENGLAND.

THE EMINENT CANADIAN ENTERTAINERS

Miss E. Pauline Johnson,
"TEKAHIONWAKE."
THE IROQUOIS INDIAN POET-ENTERTAINER.

Mr. Walter McRaye,
HUMORIST.
IN SKETCHES FROM DR. DRUMMOND'S "HABITANT"
CHARACTERS OF FRENCH CANADA.

53. ST. JAMES' SQUARE.
~~HOLLAND PARK,~~ W.

E. PAULINE JOHNSON.

IROQUOIS INDIAN POET RECITER

Care of
The Canadian Offices
17 Victoria St
London. S.W.
England.

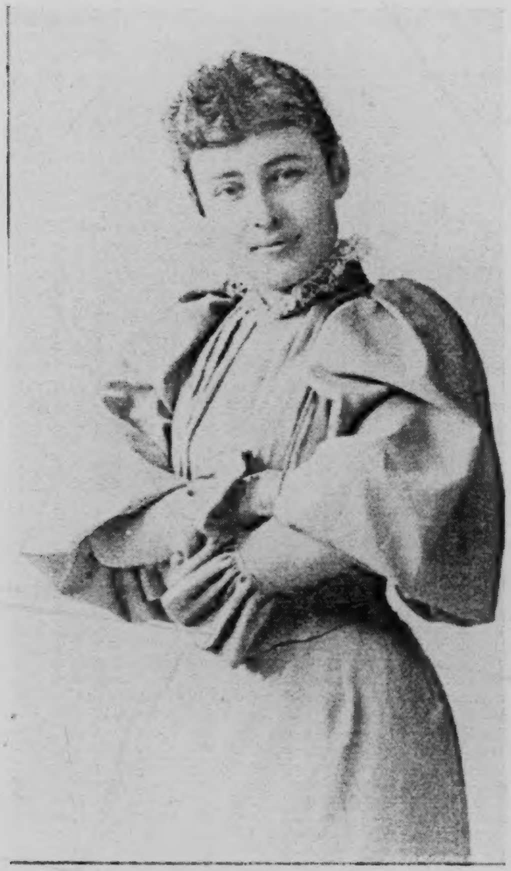
Aug 20th 1906.

My dear Mr. Baylor,

You will recall that some years ago I sold through you to the Canadian Institute a small section of my Indian collection, amongst which was a carved Medicine-Mans Mask, and a small short White Wampum Belt. My papers relating to this transaction are all packed away at inaccessible places in Canada, so I cannot definitely quote quite correctly concerning them. But I am writing you now to learn if you can arrange for me to repurchase, or buy back the Wampum Belt. I think I sold it to you for fifty dollars at the same time I sold you the old "[illegible]" Dancing Mask

Figure 15

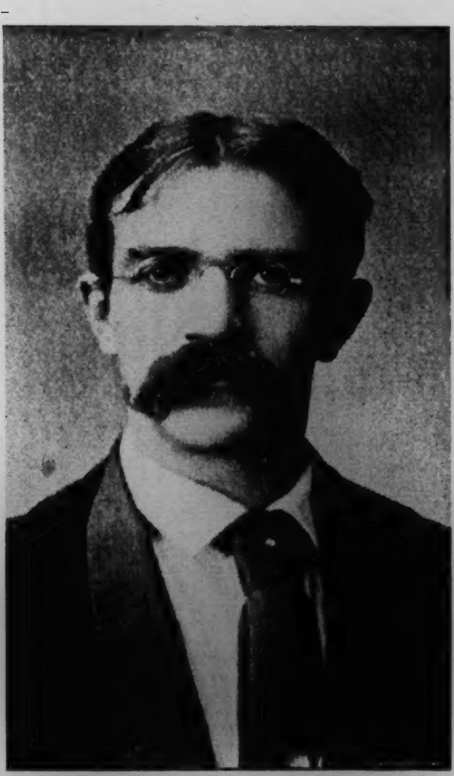
Johnson's letterhead, letter to Mr. Baylor, 20 August 1906.



E. PAULINE JOHNSON.

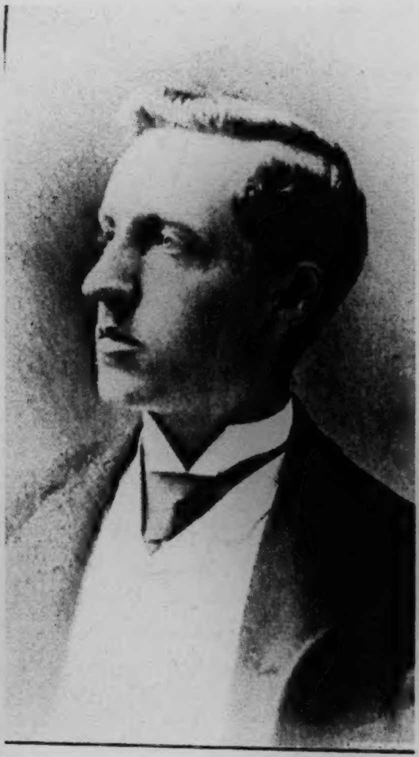
Figure 16

J. Fraser Bryce, *E. Pauline Johnson,* illustration in J.E. Wetherell's Anthology *Later Canadian Poems* (1893), photograph c. 1892.



CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS.

17.



DUNCAN CAMPBELL SCOTT

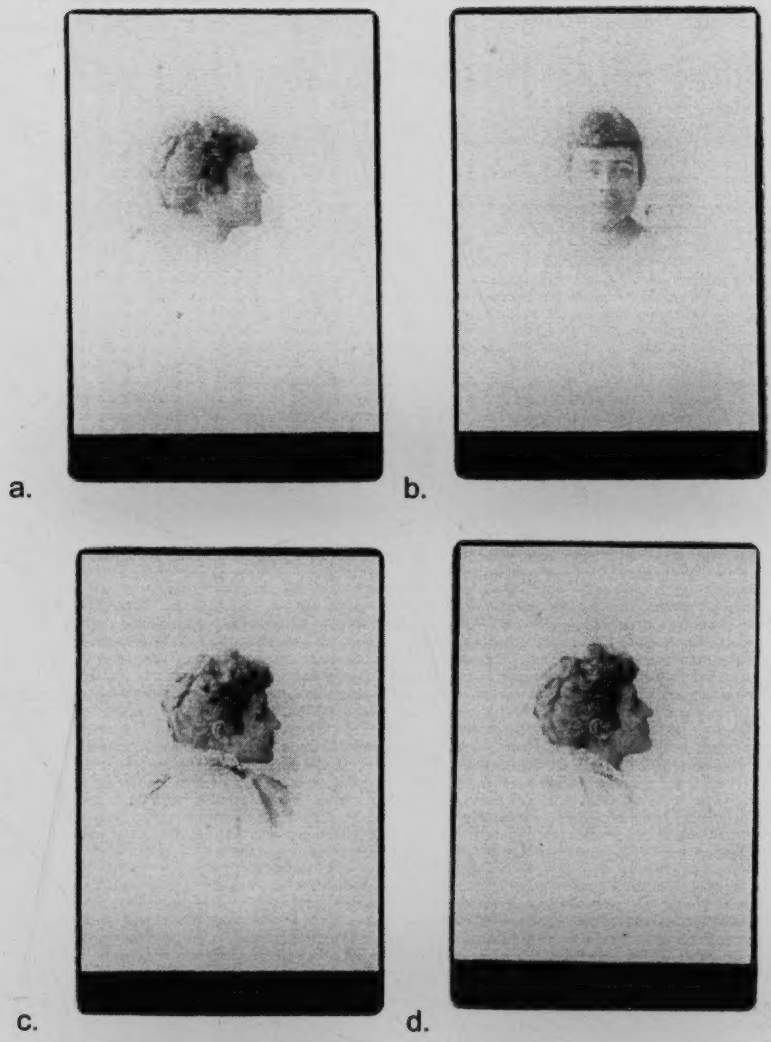
18.

Figure 17

Charles G.D. Roberts, illustration in J.E. Wetherell's Anthology *Later Canadian Poems* (1893).

Figure 18

Duncan Campbell Scott, illlustration in J.E. Wetherell's Anthology *Later Canadian Poems* (1893).



Figures 19

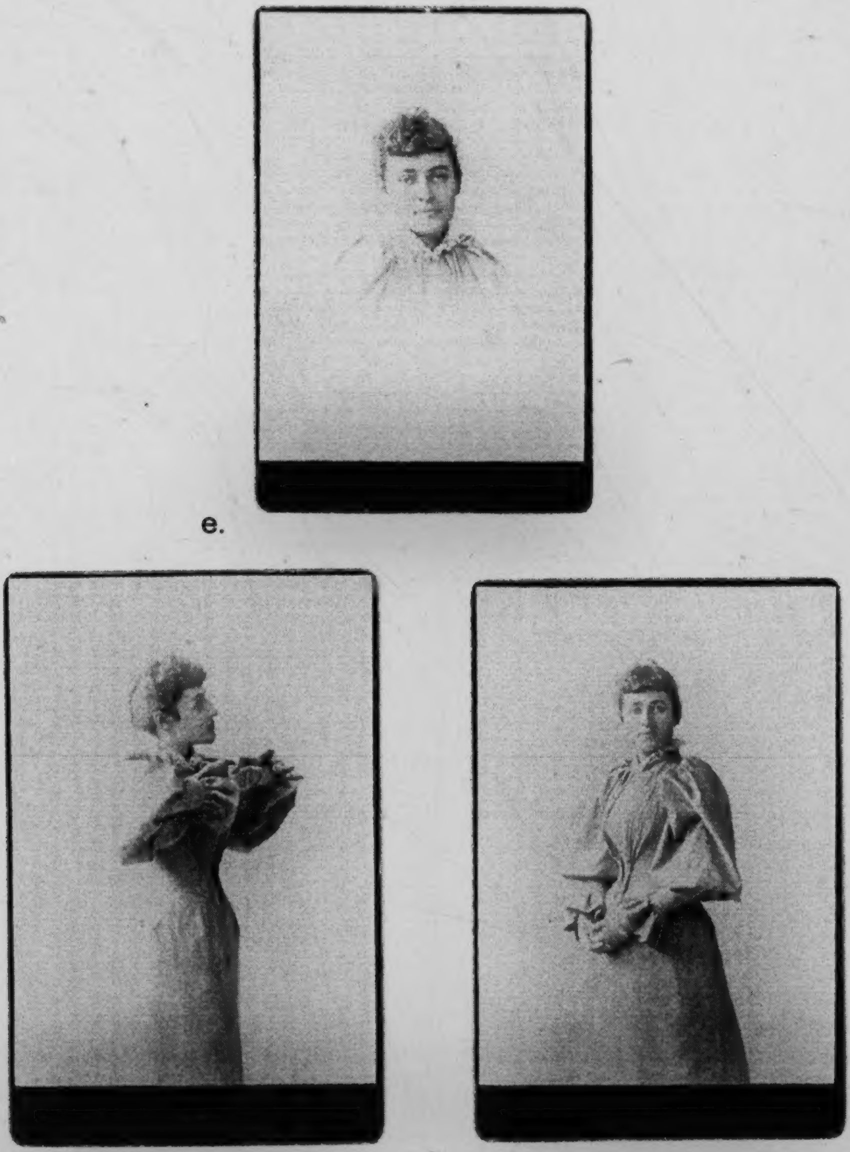
J. Fraser Bryce, *E. Pauline Johnson*, c. 1892, Toronto.

a: [head shot - profile image]

b: [head shot – face forward]

c: [head and shoulders – back and profile]

d. [head and shoulders – profile]



e.

f.

g.

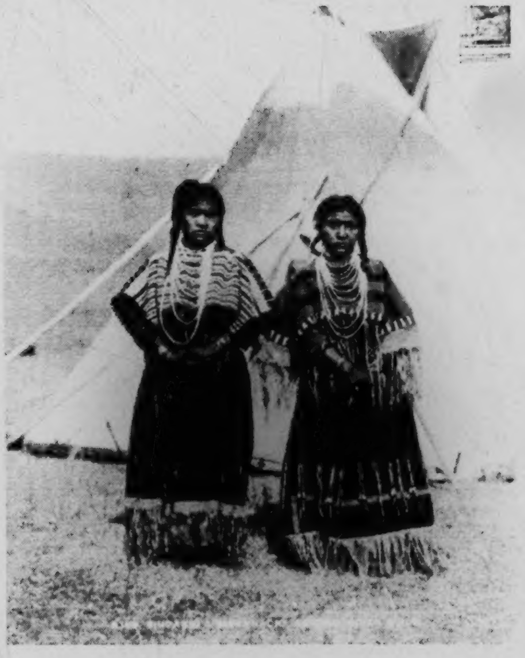
Figures 19

J. Fraser Bryce, *E. Pauline Johnson,* c. 1892, Toronto.

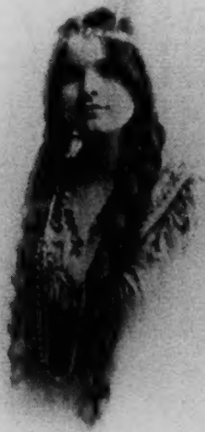
e: [head and shoulders – face forward]

f: [3/4 length – profile]

g: [3/4 length – face forward]



a.



b.

Figure 20

a: Boorne & May, *"Siupakio & Sikunnacio, Sarcee Indian Girls,"* 1887-88, near Calgary, AB.

b: *Unidentified 'Indian Princess.*

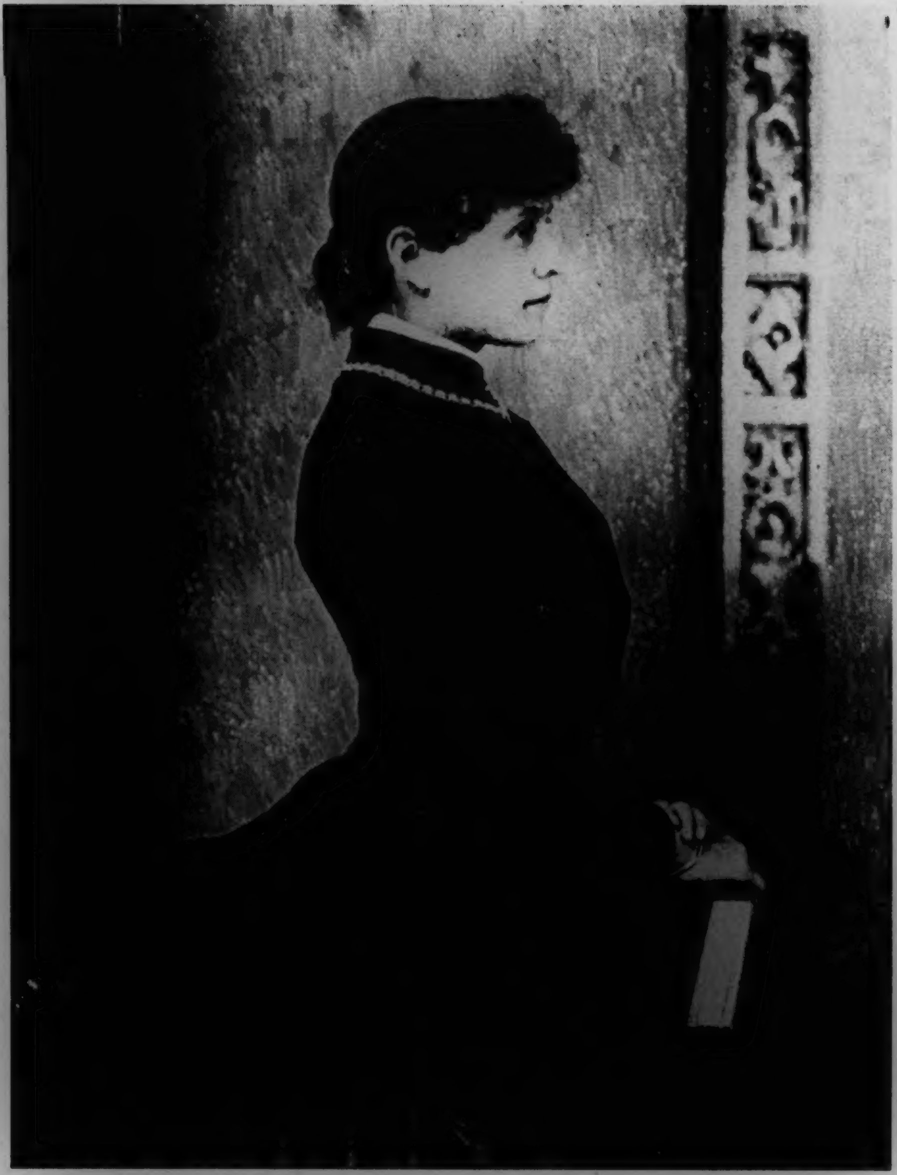
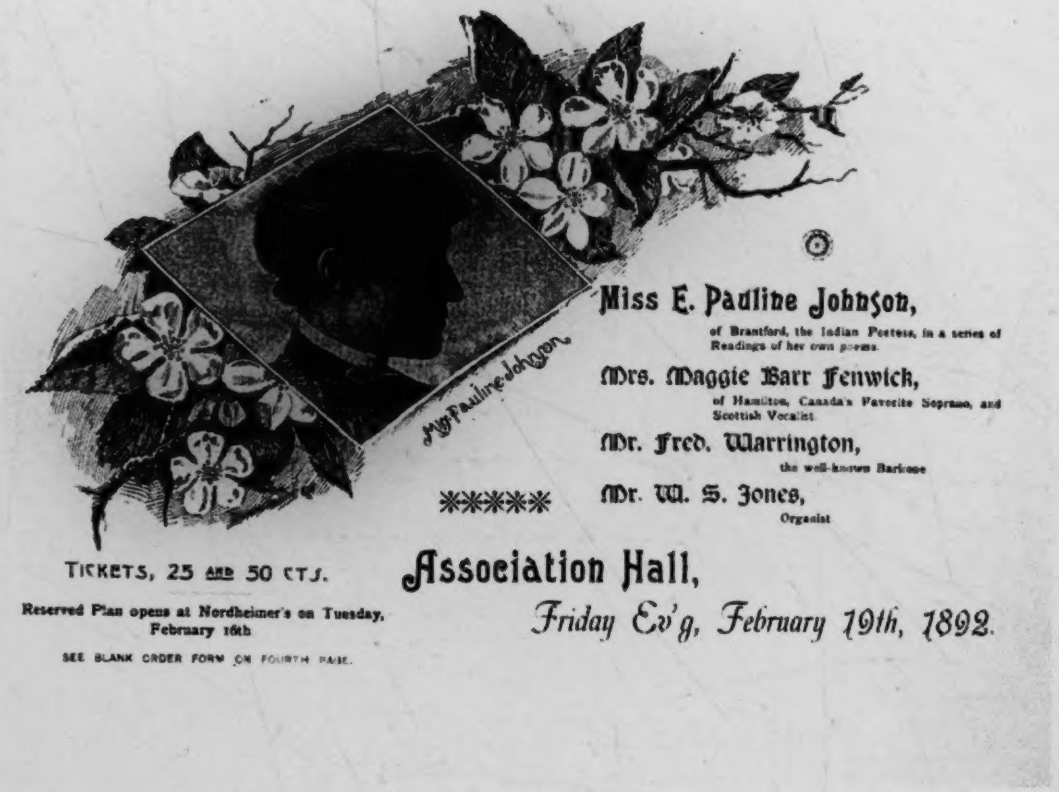


Figure 21

Floretta Maracle, 20 February 1887.


Miss Pauline Johnson

Miss E. Pauline Johnson,

of Brantford, the Indian Poetess, in a series of Readings of her own poems.

Mrs. Maggie Barr Fenwick,

of Hamilton, Canada's Favorite Soprano, and Scottish Vocalist

Mr. Fred. Warrington,

the well-known Baritone

Mr. W. S. Jones,

Organist

*****

TICKETS, 25 AND 50 CTS.

Reserved Plan opens at Nordheimer's on Tuesday, February 16th

SEE BLANK ORDER FORM ON FOURTH PAGE.

Association Hall,

Friday Ev'g, February 19th, 1892.

Figure 22

Advertisement for recital by E. Pauline Johnson at Association Hall. February, 1892.

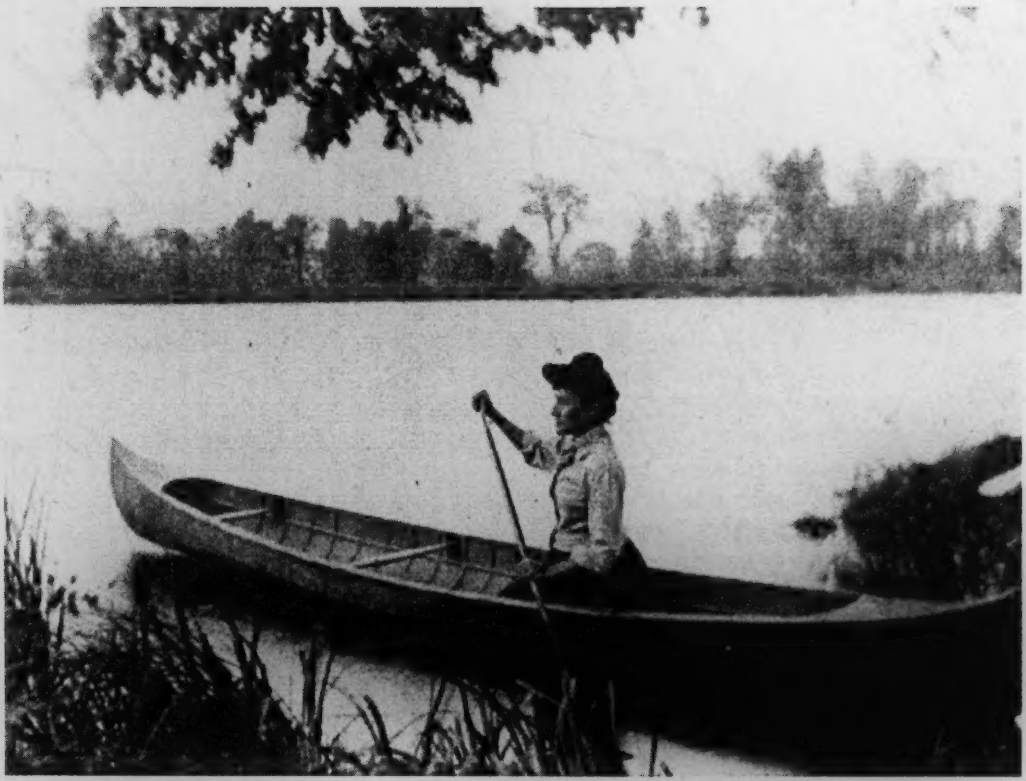
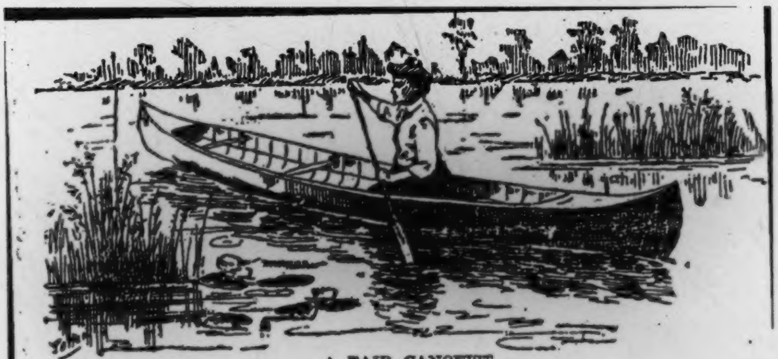


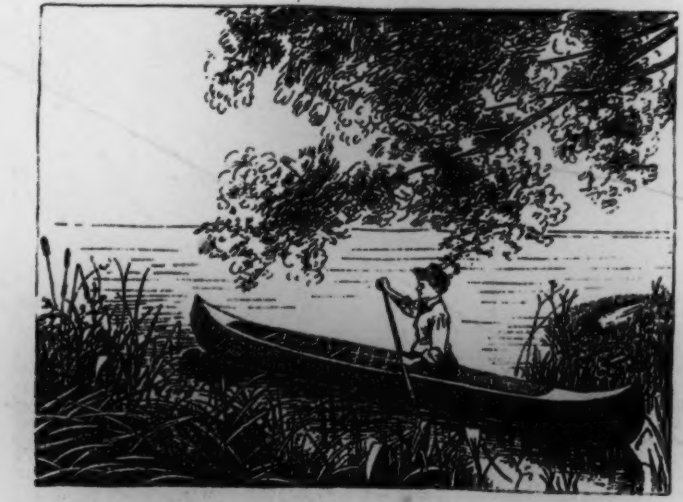
Figure 23

E. Pauline Johnson canoeing, c. 1890-91.



A FAIR CANOEIST.

a.

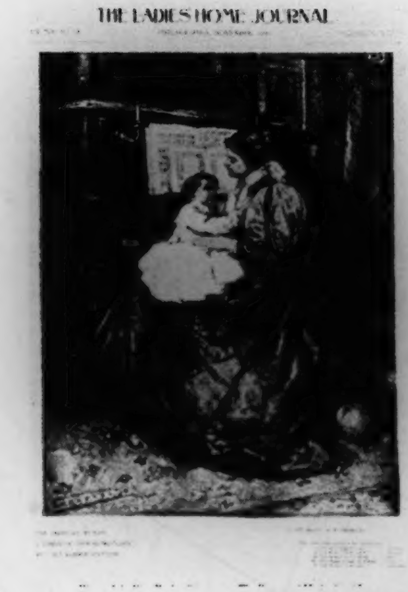


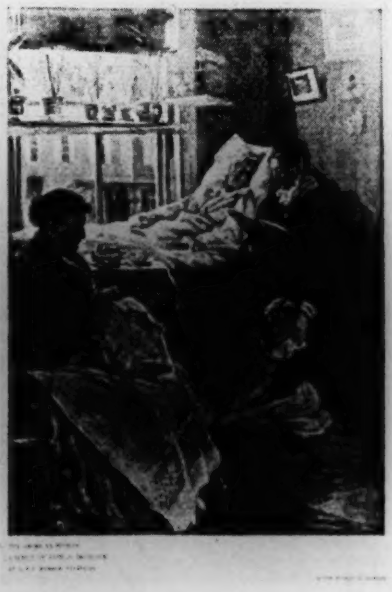
MISS JOHNSON AND HER FAVOURITE RECREATION.

b.

Figure 24

a: *"A Fair Canoeist,"* illustration in *Detroit Weekly Press,* July 1891.
b: *"Miss Johnson and Her Favourite Recreation,"* illustration in *The Young Canadian,* April 1891.


THE LADIES HOME JOURNAL


b.

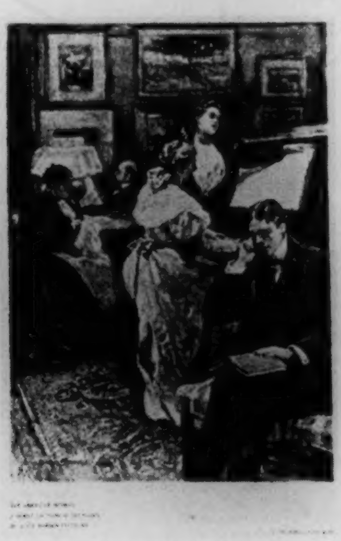

c.

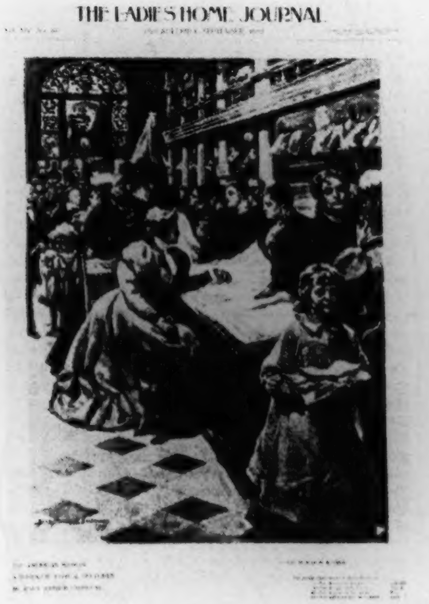
Figure 25

Artist: Alice Barber Stevens

a: “The Beauty of Motherhood,” *The Ladies Home Journal* (Nov. 1897).

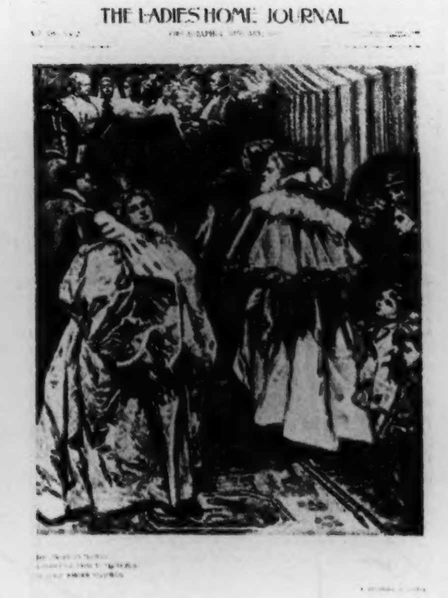
b: “The Woman in Religion,” *The Ladies Home Journal* (Mar. 1897).

c. “The Woman in the Home,” *The Ladies Home Journal* (May 1897).



THE LADIES HOME JOURNAL

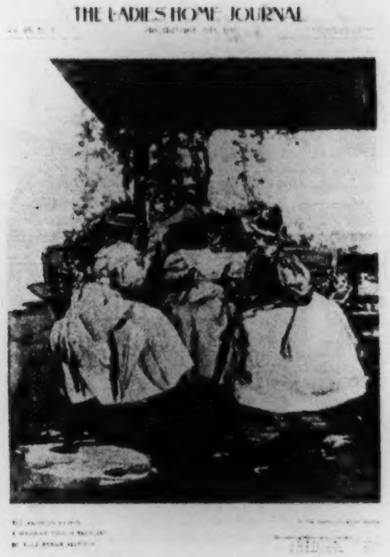
a.



THE LADIES HOME JOURNAL

b.

Figure 1.4. Alice Barber Stephens. "The Woman in Society."



THE LADIES HOME JOURNAL

c.

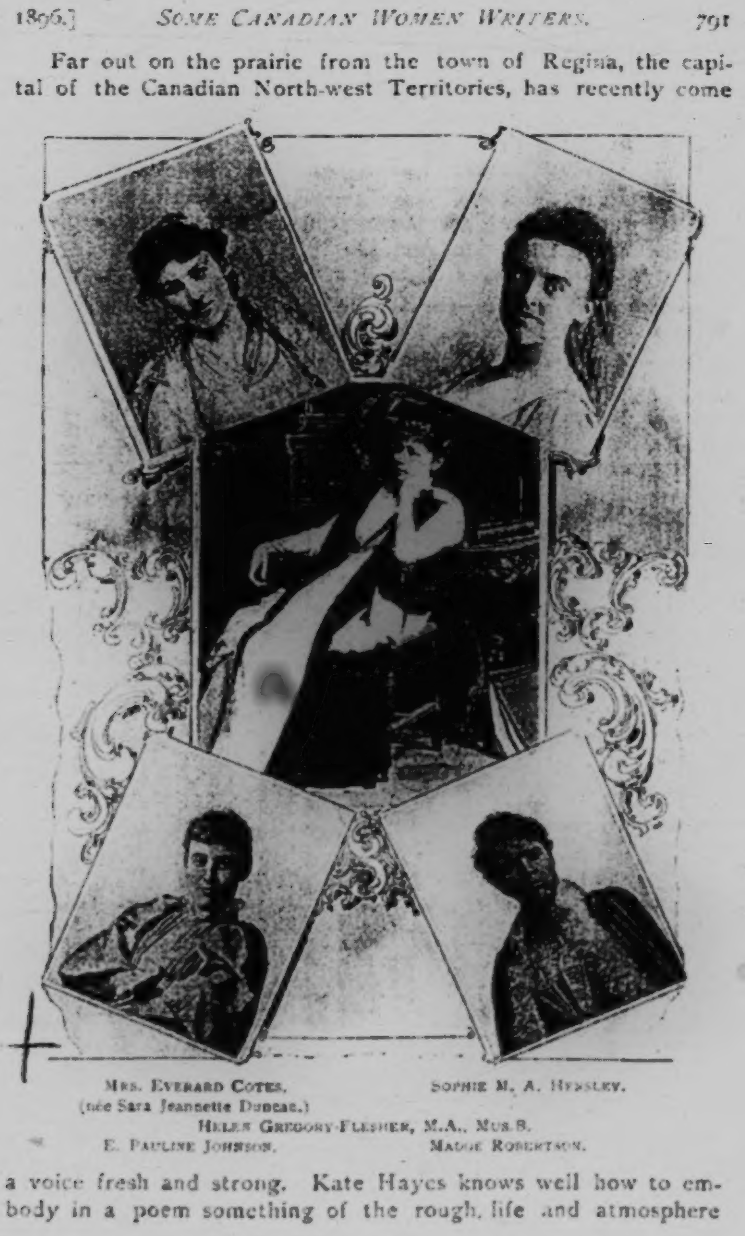
Figure 25

Artist: Alice Barber Stevens

d: "The Woman in Business," *The Ladies Home Journal* (Sept. 1897).

e: "The Woman in Society," *The Ladies Home Journal* (Jan. 1897).

f: "The American Girl in Summer," *The Ladies Home Journal* (July 1897).



1896.] *Some Canadian Women Writers.* 791

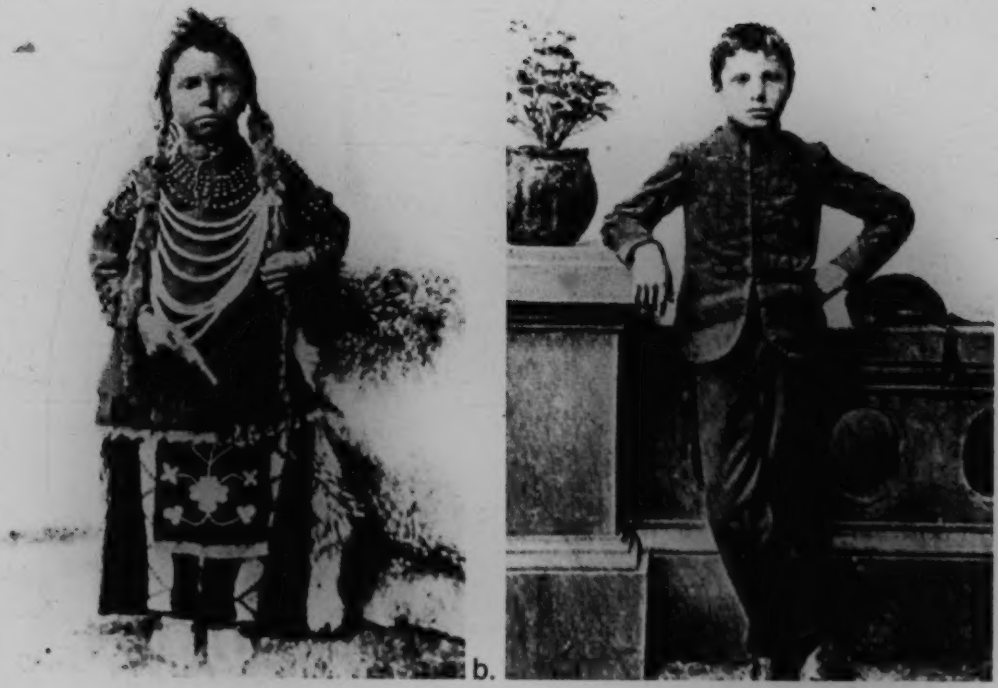
Far out on the prairie from the town of Regina, the capital of the Canadian North-west Territories, has recently come

Mrs. Everard Cotes.
(née Sara Jeannette Duncan.)
Sophie M. A. Hensley.
Helen Gregory-Flesher, M.A., Mus.B.
E. Pauline Johnson.
Madge Robertson.

a voice fresh and strong. Kate Hayes knows well how to embody in a poem something of the rough, life and atmosphere

Figure 26

A portrait page of Canadian women writers in the Catholic World, **September 1896.**

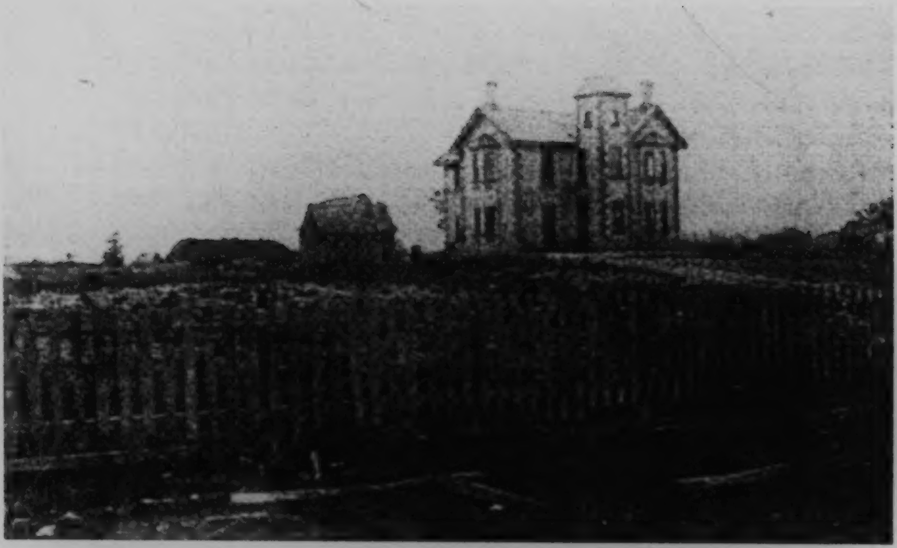


a. b.

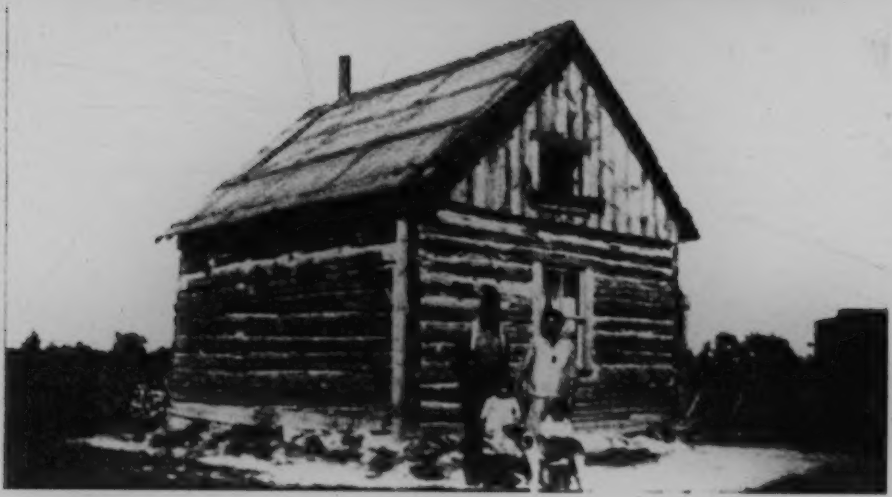
Figure 27

a: *Thomas Moore,* 1896, Southern Saskatchewan,

b: *Thomas Moore*, 1896, Southern Saskatchewan.



a.



b.

Figure 28

a: *Chief A. G. Smith's home on the Grand River reserve*, c. 1890s

b: *John Buck and family outside of his log home on Grand River reserve*, early 20th century.

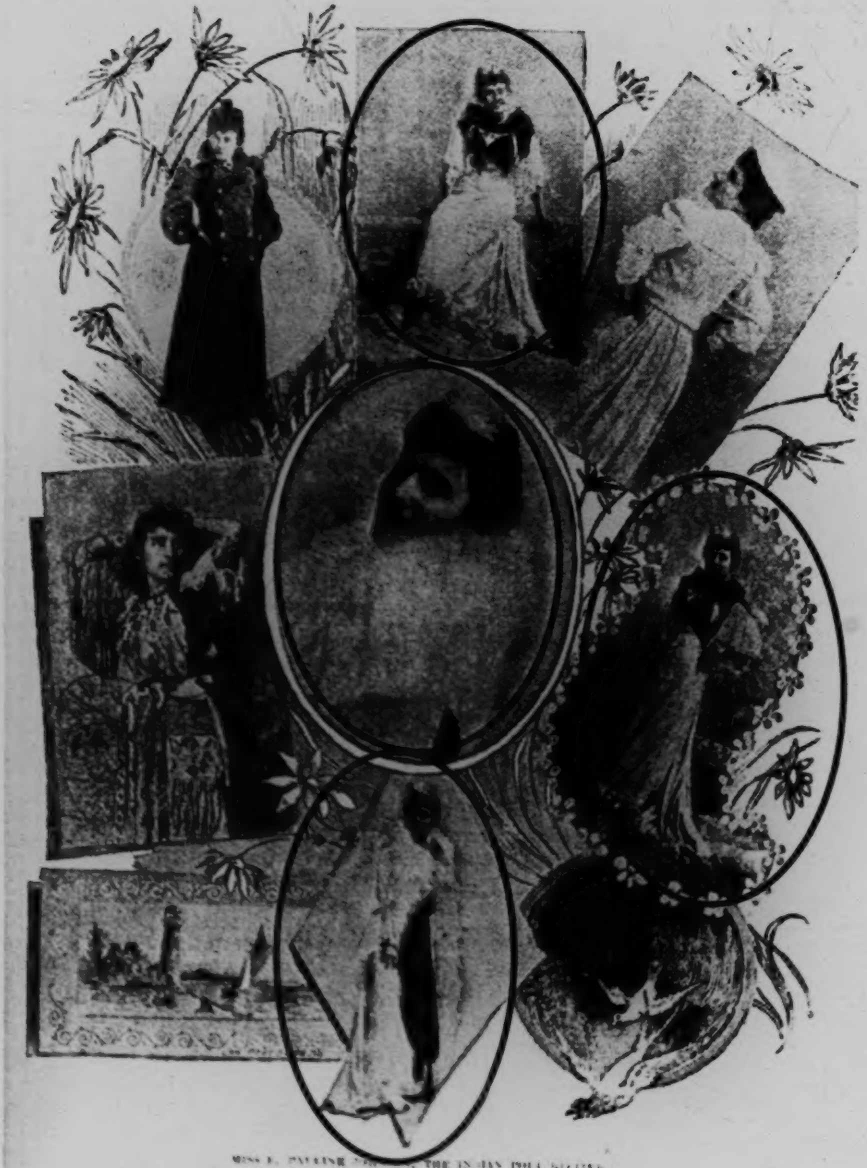


Figure 29

Images of Johnson as a celebrity performer, "Miss E. Pauline Johnson, The Indian Poet Reciter," photo collage in *The Globe,* September 23, 1893.

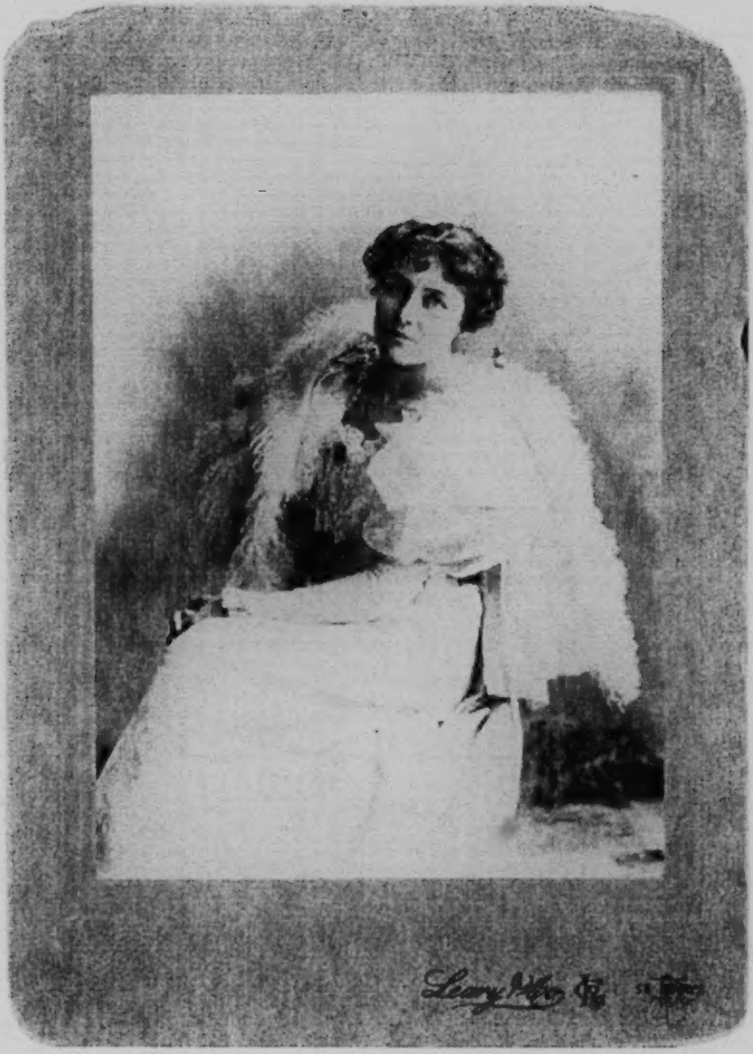
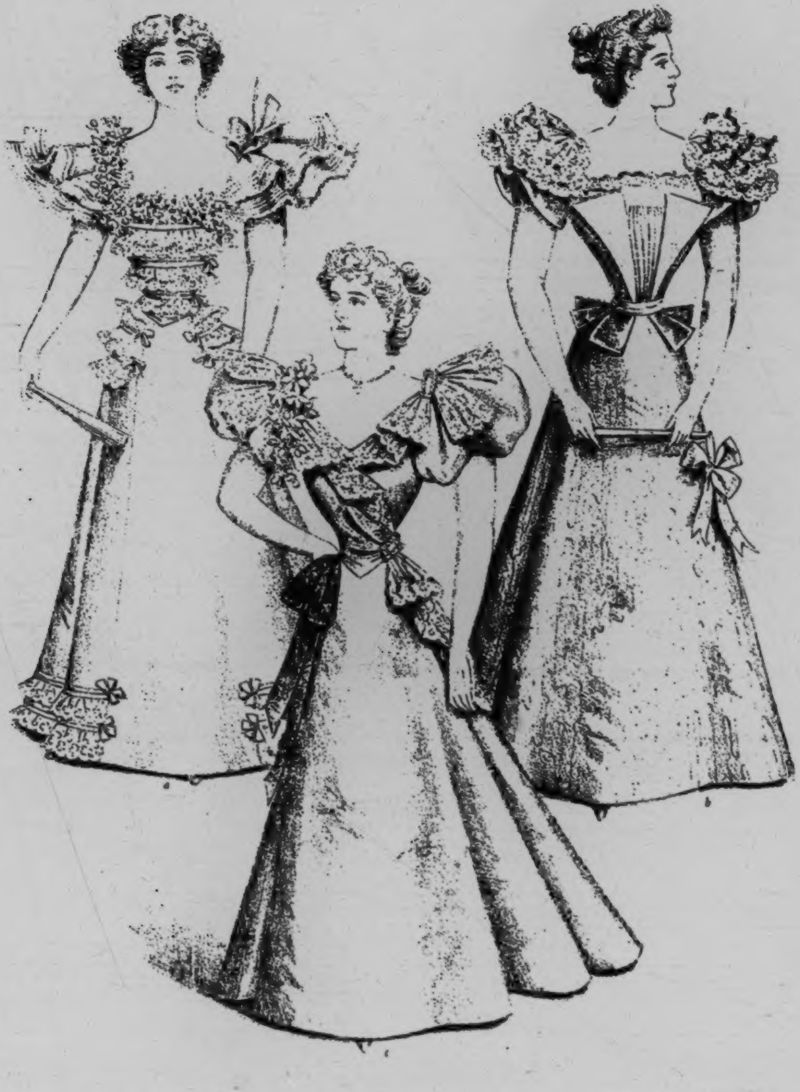


Figure 30

Leary and Co., *E. Pauline Johnson in her favourite performance gown,* 1897, St. Mary's, Ontario.



BALL GOWNS (2/97). a: Lime with white lace and lavender ribbons; jade-green flowers at neckline. b: Turquoise blue with white lace; blond flowers; bright coral ribbon. c: Rose pink; emerald-green bodice with white lapels.

62

Figure 31

Paris Fashion plate, 1897.

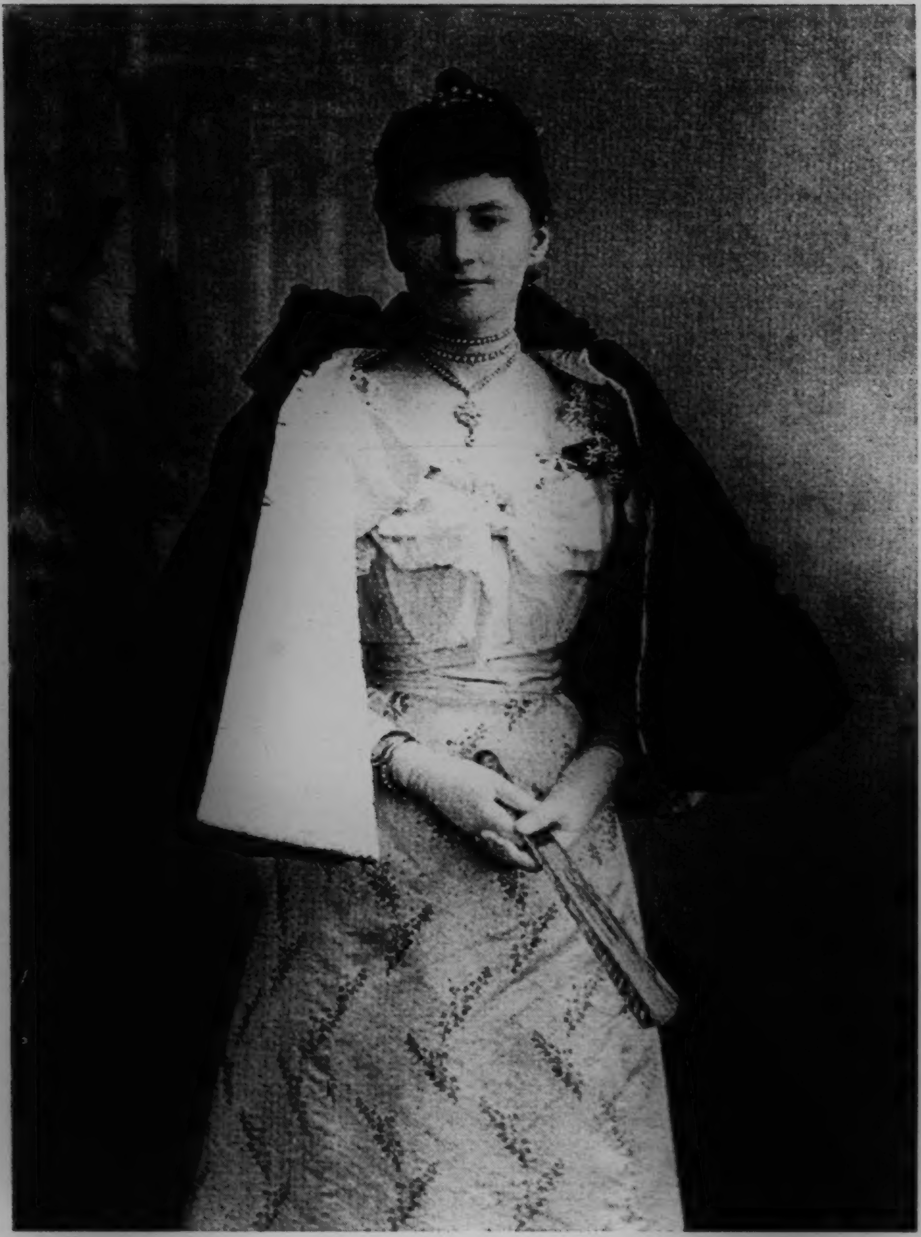


Figure 32

Elisabeth, Baroness Seaton, 1896, Bassano, London.

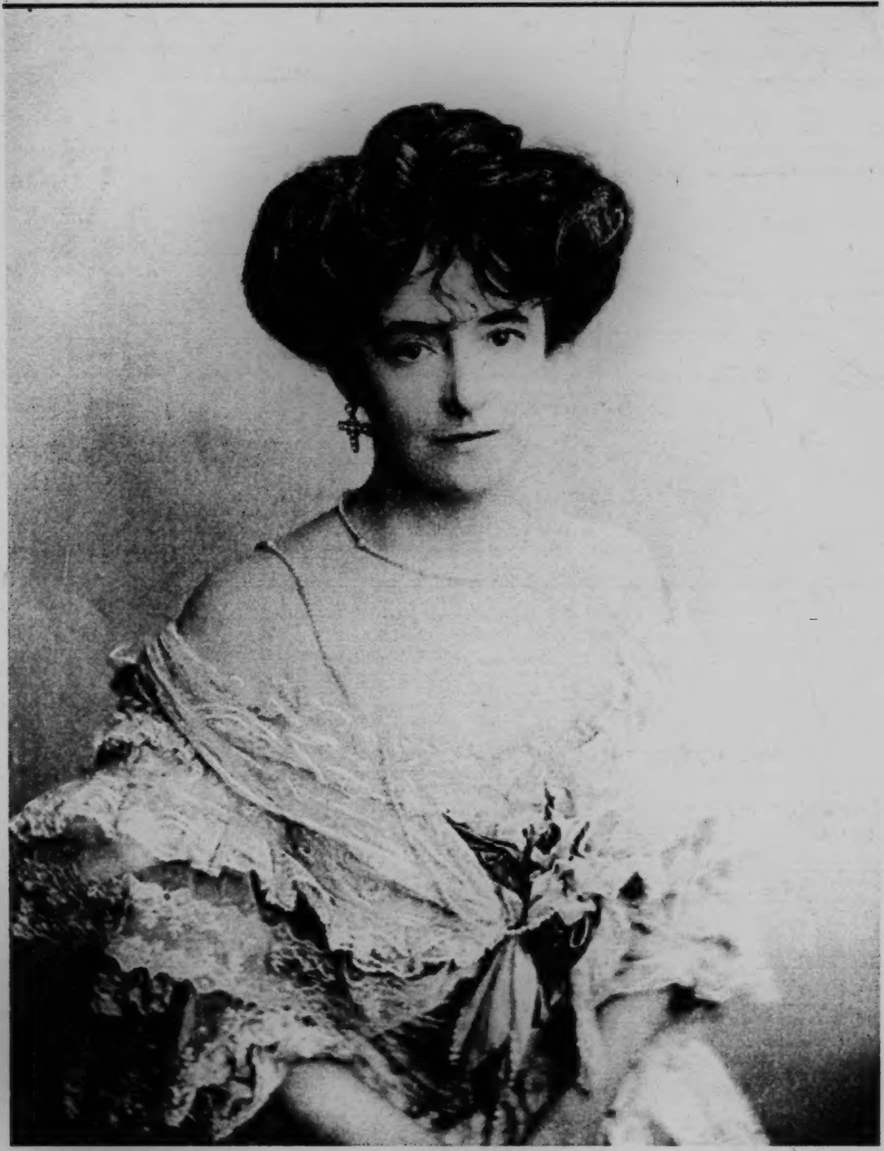
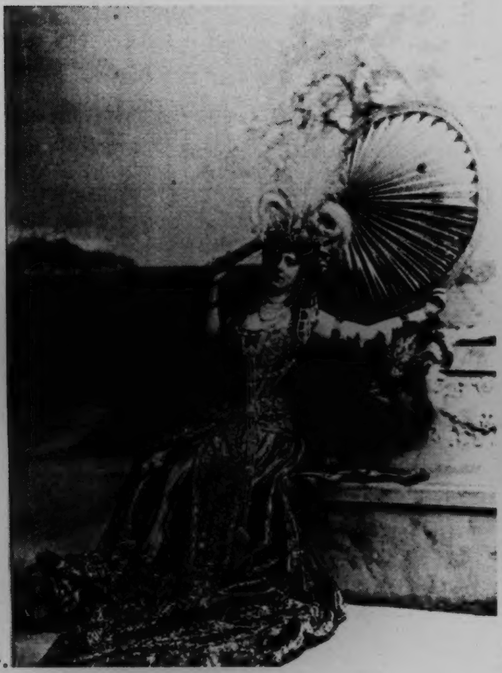
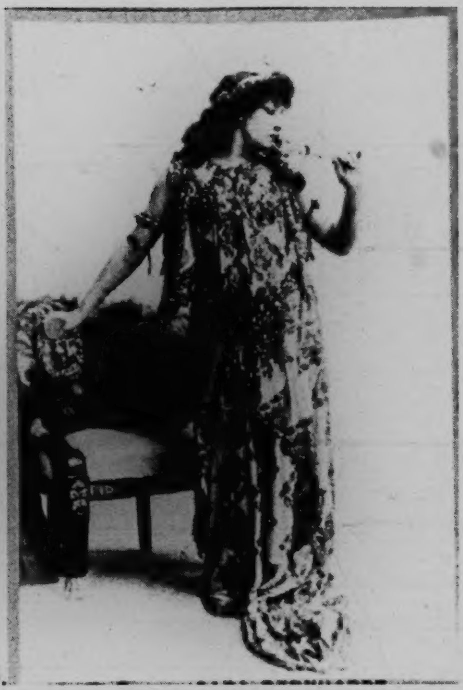


Figure 33

Alexander Bassano, *Lady Duff Gordon,* 1904, London.



34.



35.

Figure 34

Lafayette, *Daisy, Princess of Pless as Cleopatra,* 1897, London.

Figure 35

Napoleon Sarony, *Sarah Bernhardt as Cleopatra,* 1891, New York.

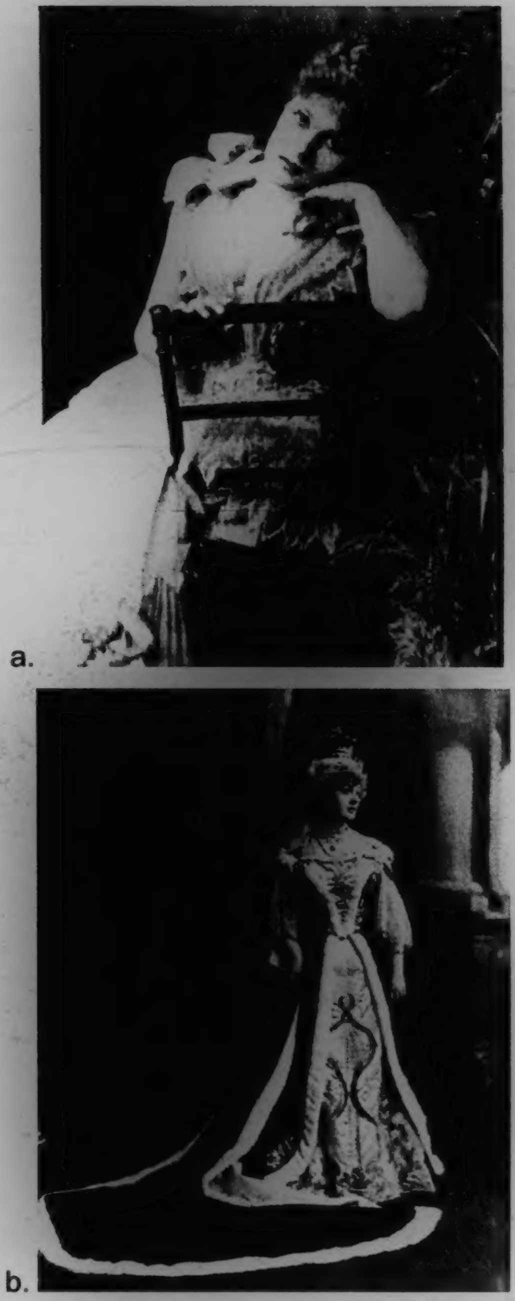


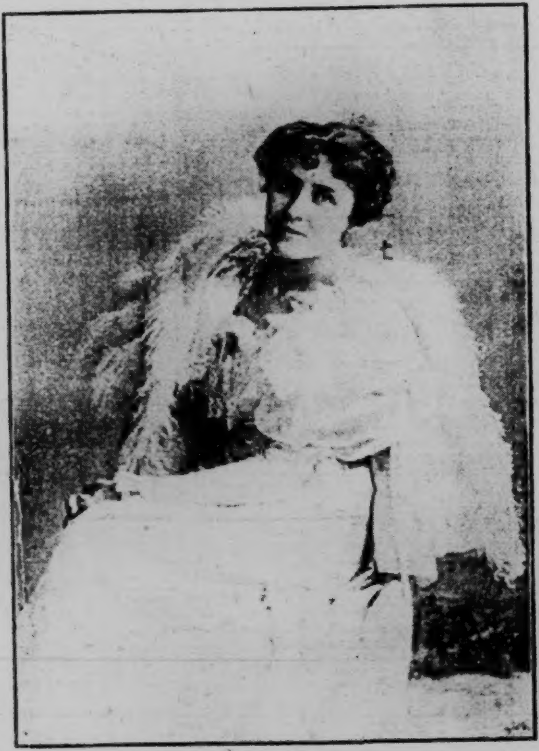
Figure 36

a: Alexander Bassano, *Belle Bilton, Lady Dunlo,* 1889-91, London.

b: Lafayette, *Isabel Maude Prentice, Countess of Clancarty,* 1902, London.

NOTE—While in London, Miss Johnson gave Recitals in many illustrious Drawing-rooms, among which may be named that of the Marquis and Marchioness of Ripon, Lady Edith Blake, wife of the Premier of Jamaica, Lady Helen Munro-Ferguson, Mr. Hamilton Aide, etc.

• • •



• • •

And under the personal patronage of Her Grace, the Duchess of Montrose, Mr. and Mrs. Henry M. Stanley, Miss Genivieve Ward, Lord Leighton, Mr. Clement Scott, Sir Henry and Lady Edith Blake, Mrs. Lynn Lynton, Mr. and Mrs. Jerome K. Jerome, Lord and Lady Lansdowne, Lord and Lady Derby, and

Their Excellencies, the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen.

Figure 37

Interior page, Pauline Johnson publicity flyer. c. 1898.

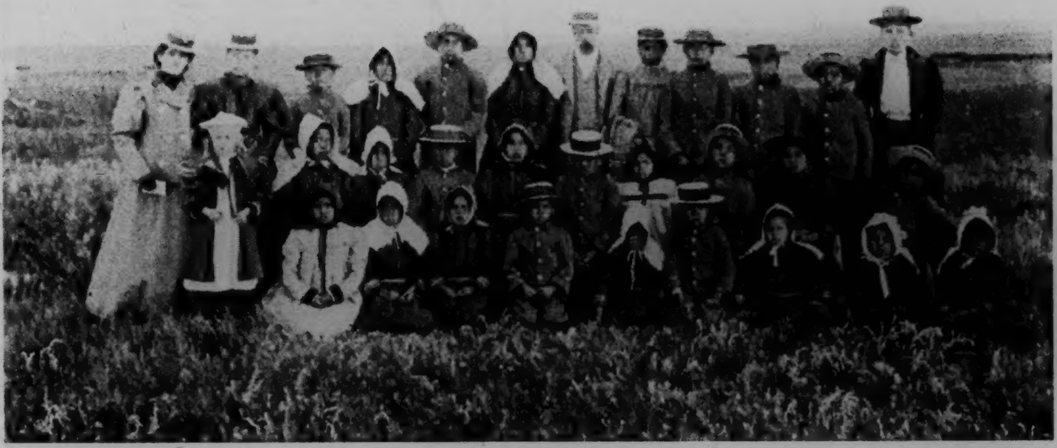


Figure 38

Frederick Steele, *"Piegan Indian Children and Teachers of Victoria Jubilee Home,"* 3 July 1899, Pincher Creek, Alberta.

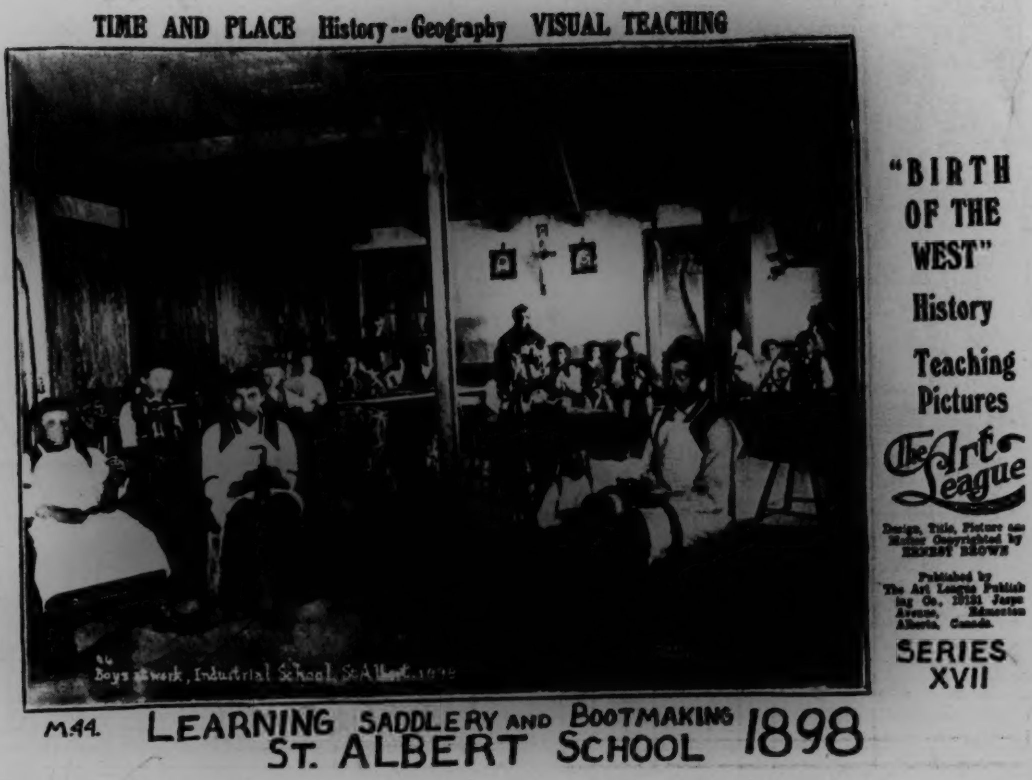

TIME AND PLACE History -- Geography VISUAL TEACHING
"BIRTH OF THE WEST"
History
Teaching
Pictures
The Art League
Design, Title, Picture and Motto Copyrighted by ERNEST BROWN
Published by The Art League Publishing Co., 10121 Jasper Avenue, Edmonton Alberta, Canada.
SERIES XVII
46
Boys at work, Industrial School, St Albert. 1898
M.44.
LEARNING SADDLERY AND BOOTMAKING
ST. ALBERT SCHOOL 1898

Figure 39

Charles W. Mathers, *"Learning Saddlery and Bootmaking, St. Albert School,"* 1898, central Alberta.

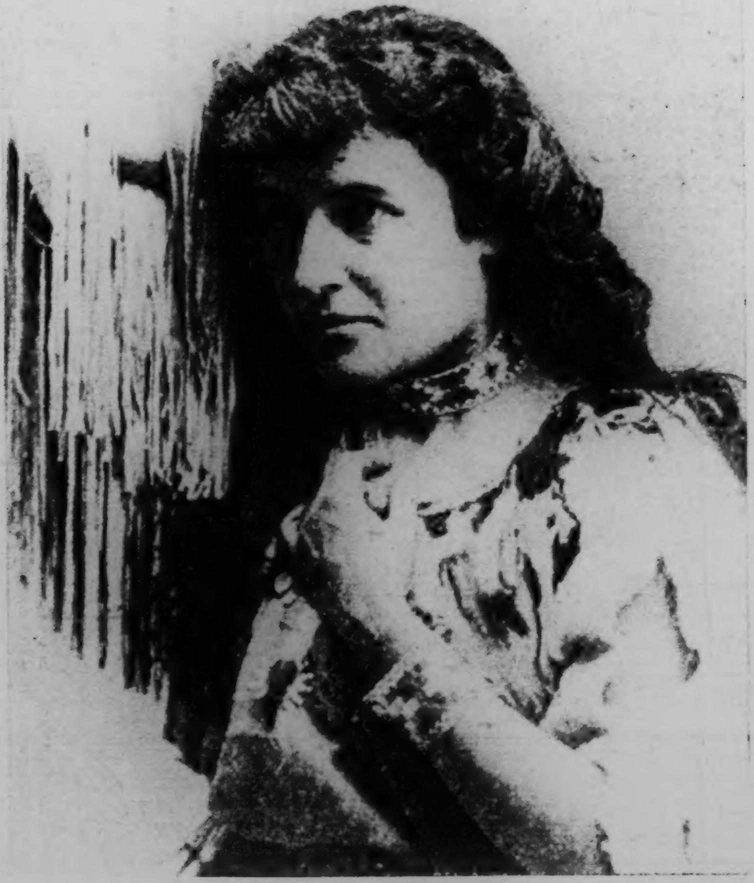


Figure 40

C. S. Cochran, *Pauline Johnson in Hector Charlesworth's article, "The Canadian Girl: An Appreciative Medley,"*1893.

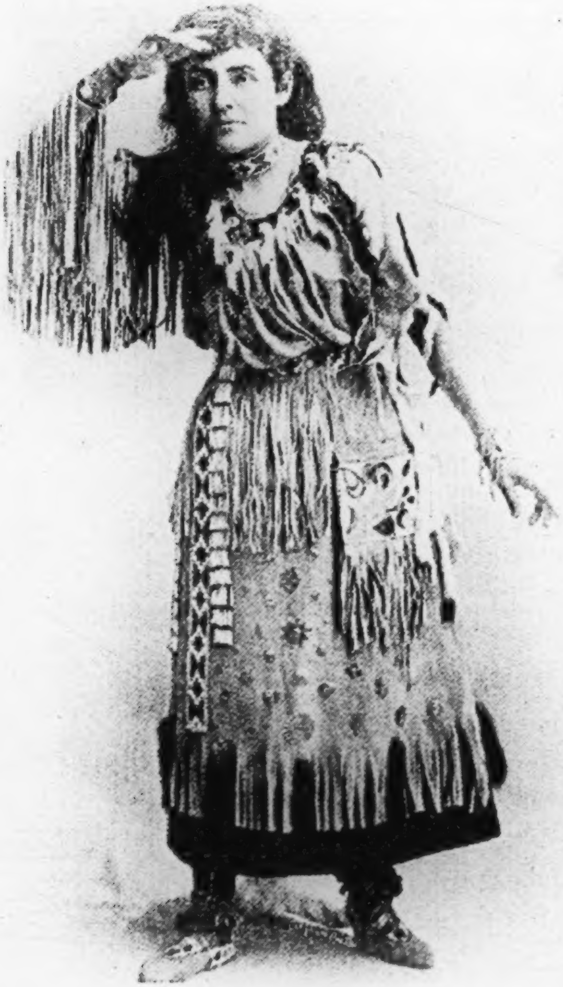


Figure 41

C.S. Cochran, *Pauline Johnson performing in native-style costume*, c. 1892-3.

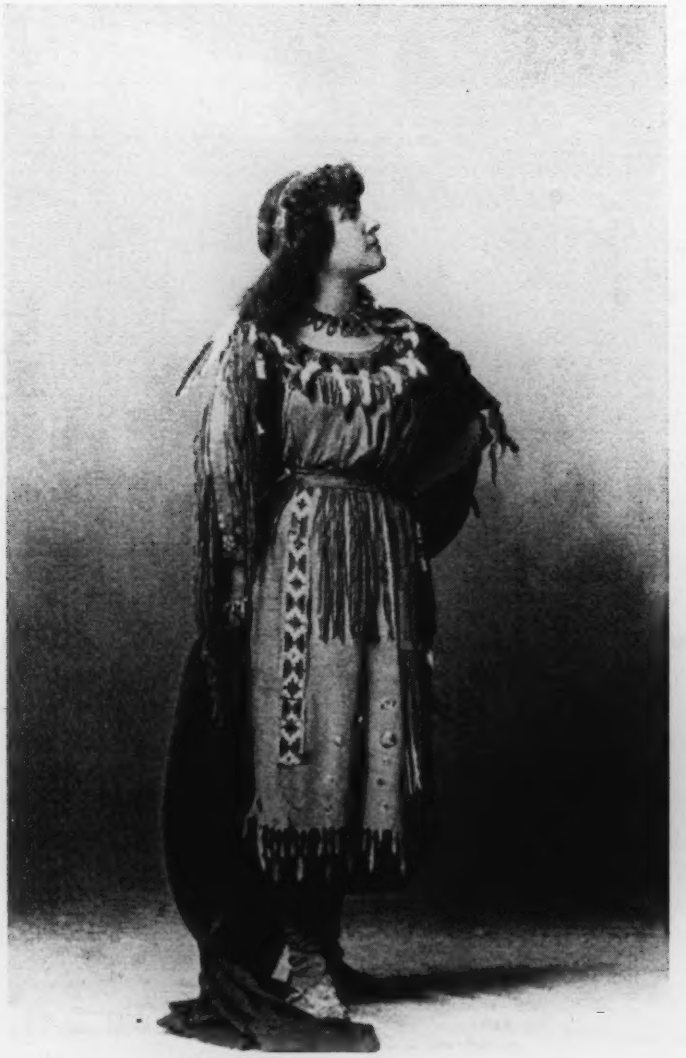


Figure 42

Author portrait of Pauline Johnson, used as frontispiece in her second book of poetry, *Canadian Born*, 1903.

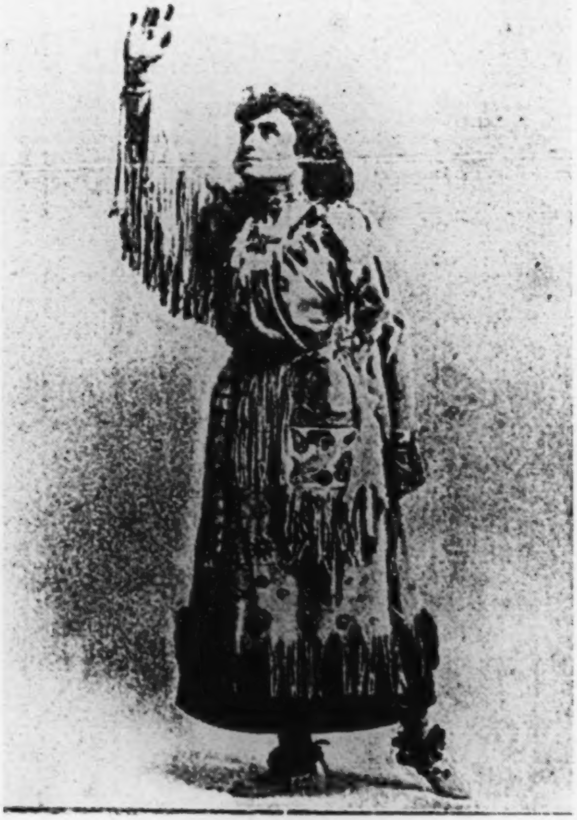


Figure 43

C.S. Cochran, *Pauline Johnson in "A Cry from an Indian Wife,'* c. 1892-3.

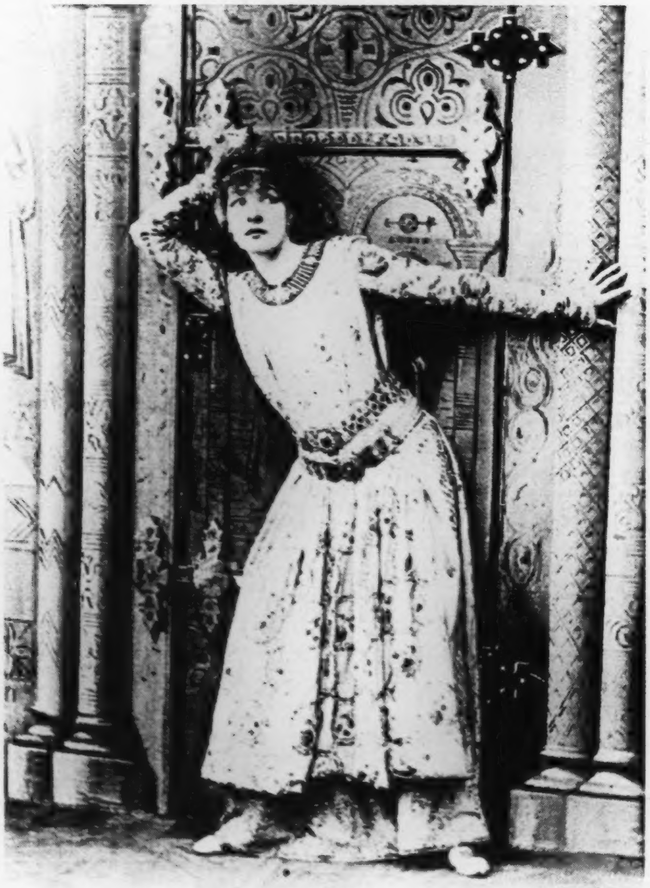


Figure 44

Paul Nadar, *Sarah Bernhard in Theodora*, 1885.

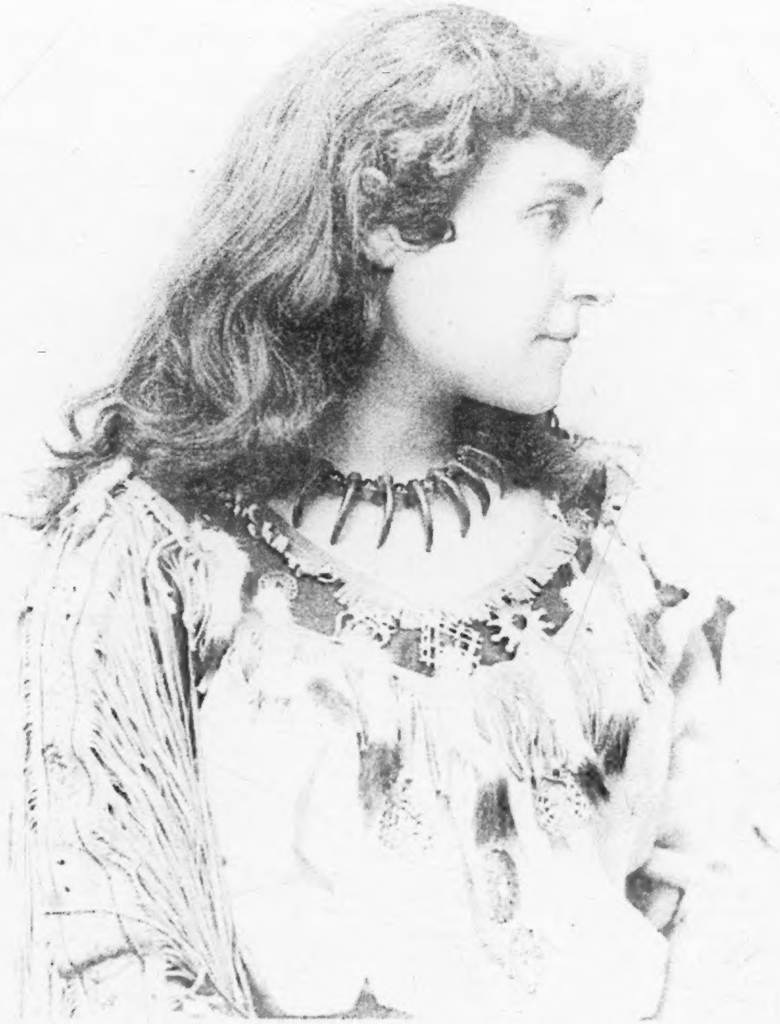


Figure 45

C.S. Cochran, *Pauline Johnson / Tekahionwake*, c. 1895.

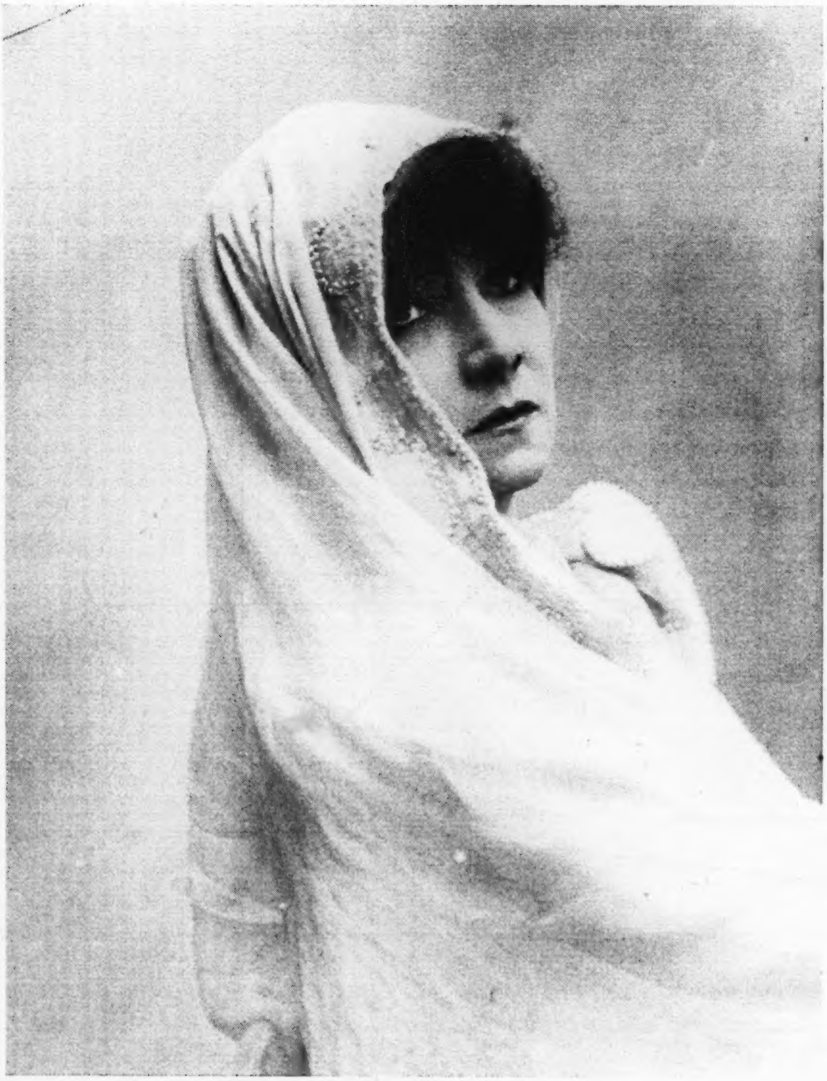


Figure 46

Paul Nadar, *Sarah Bernhardt as Phedre*, 1893, Paris.

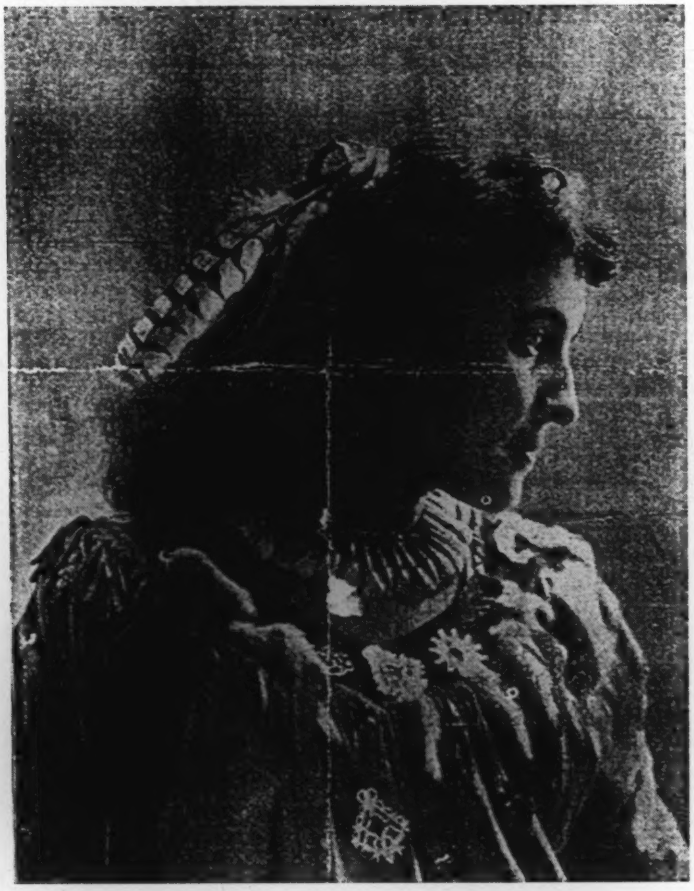


Figure 47

C.S. Cochran, *Pauline Johnson: Tekahionwake*, c. 1896-7, Brantford.

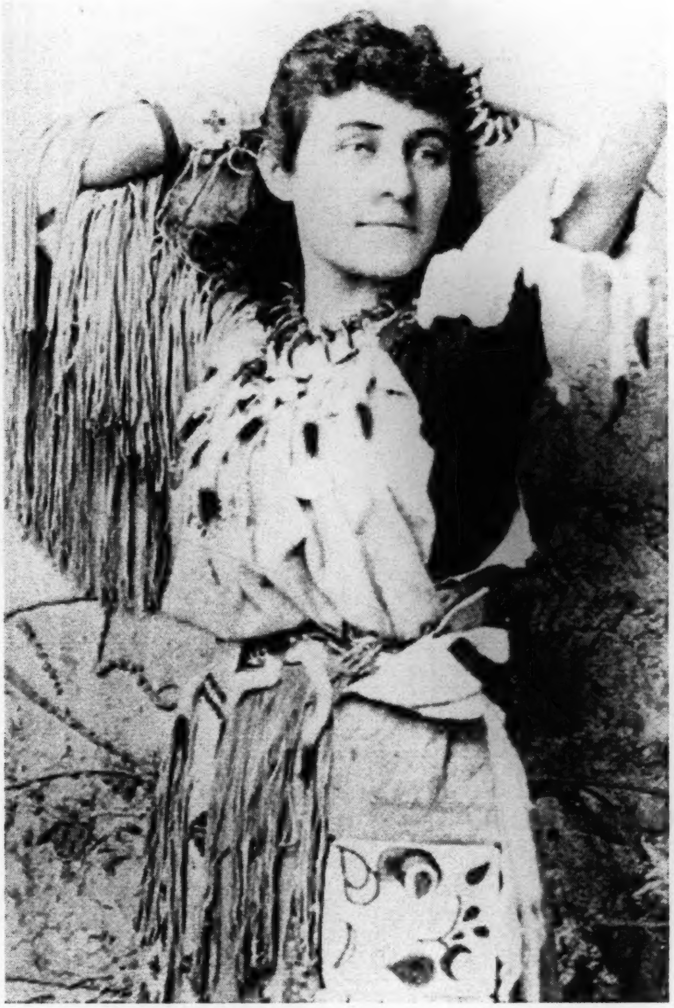


Figure 48

C.S. Cochran, *Pauline Johnson publicity photograph*, 1893.

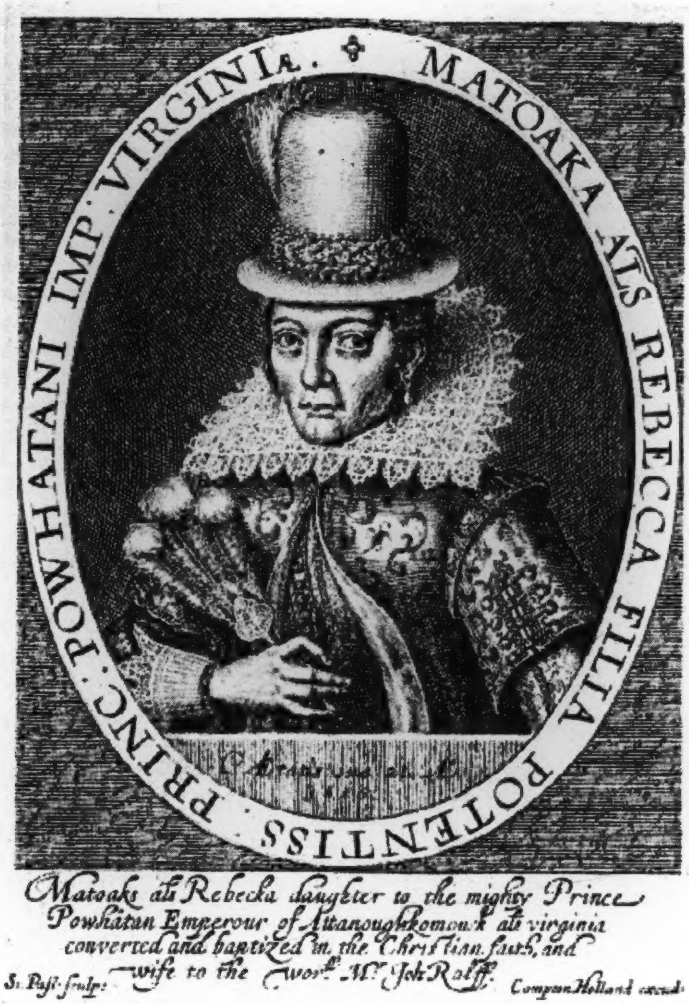

MATOAKA ALS REBECCA FILIA POTENTISS · PRINC: POWHATANI IMP: VIRGINIÆ.
Matoaks als Rebecka daughter to the mighty Prince
Powhatan Emperour of Attanoughskomouk als virginia
converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and
wife to the wor.^{ll} M.^{r} Joh Rolff.
Si. Pass. sculp:
Compton Holland excud.

Figure 49

Simon Van de Passe, *Mataoks als Rebecka daughter to the"daughter to the mighty Prince Powhatan Emperour of Attanoughskomouk als Virginia converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and wife to the wor.^{tt} M:^{r} Joh: Rolff,"* engraving, 1618.

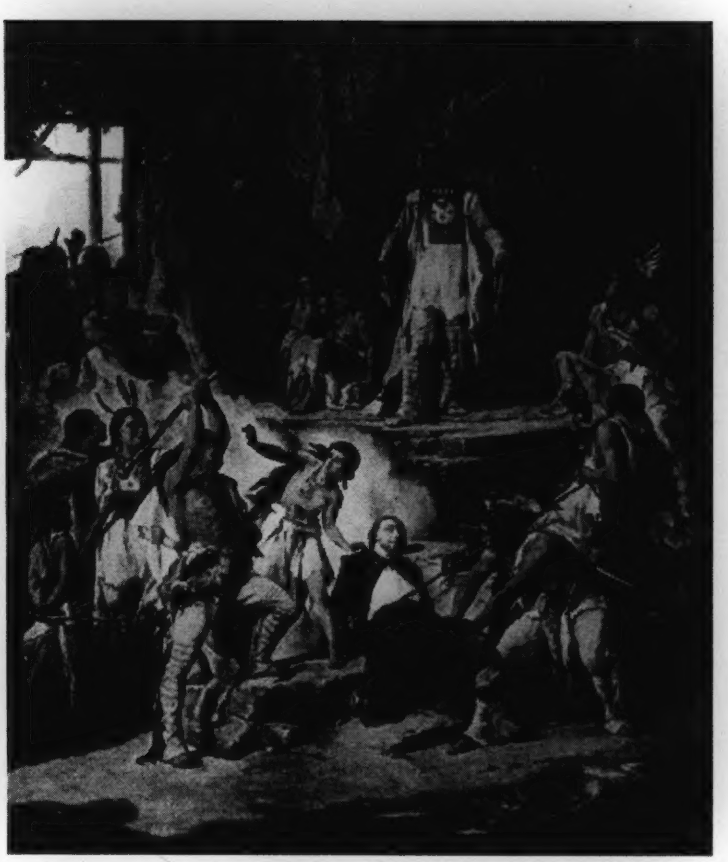


Figure 50

Victor Nehlig, “Pocahontas and John Smith,” oil on canvas, 1870.

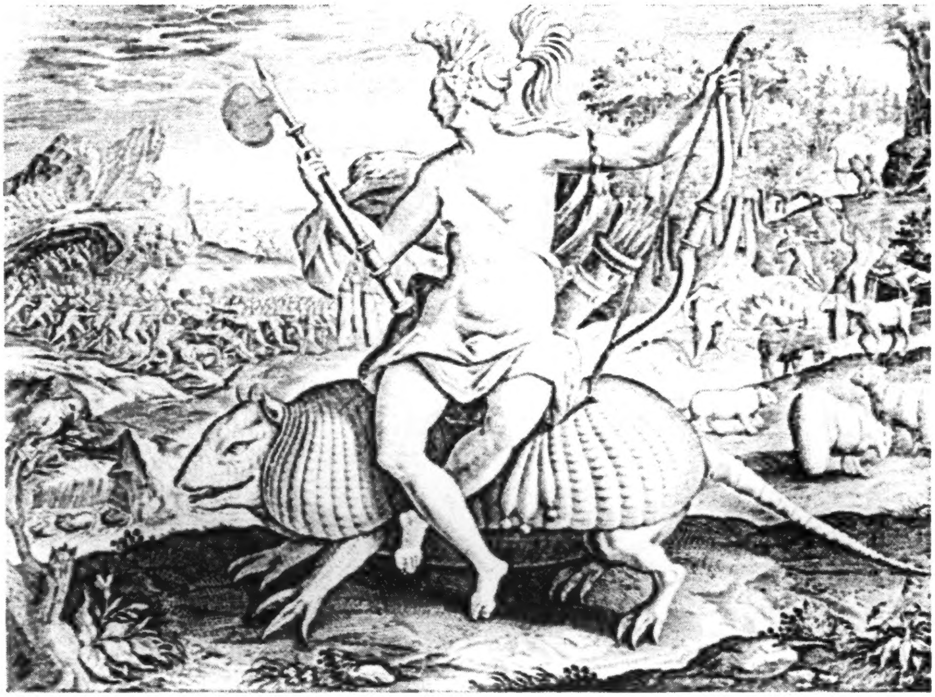
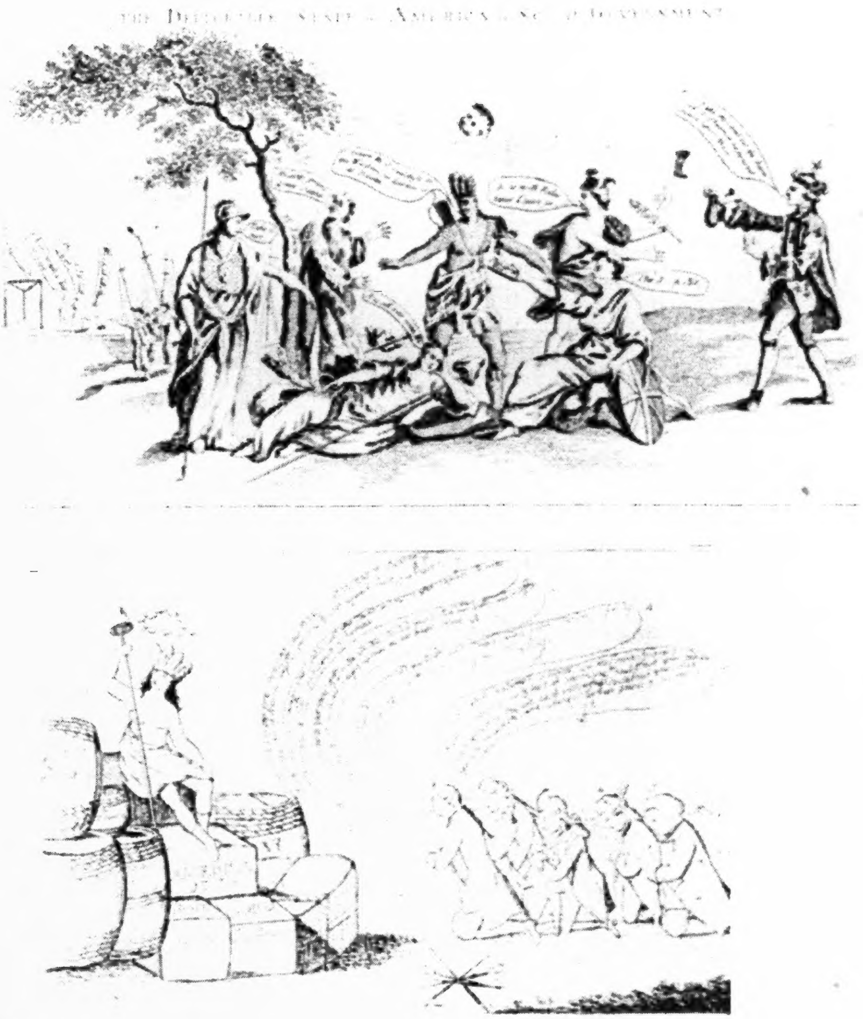


Figure 51

Martin de Vos, *Personification of America*, contemporary European copy of an engraving c. 1595.



a.

b.

Figure 52

a: *The Deplorable State of America, or Sc-h Government*, 1765, London.

b: Matthew Darly, *The Commissioners*, 1778, London.

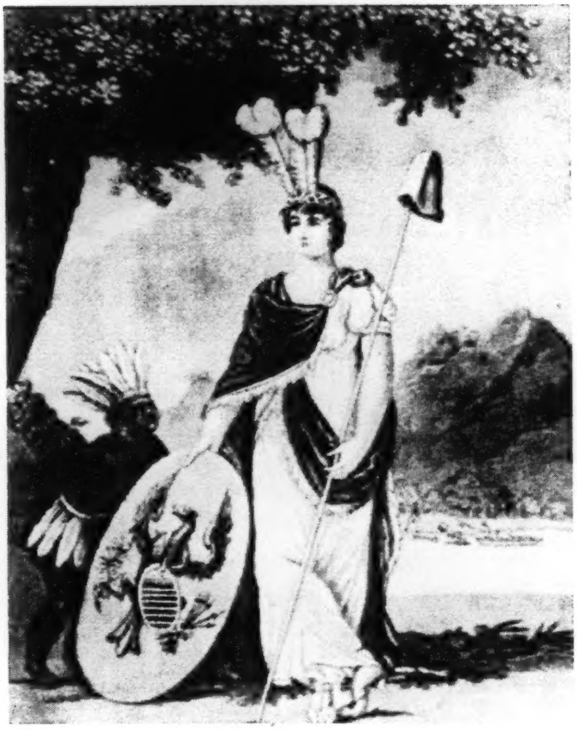


Figure 53

America, 1804, London.

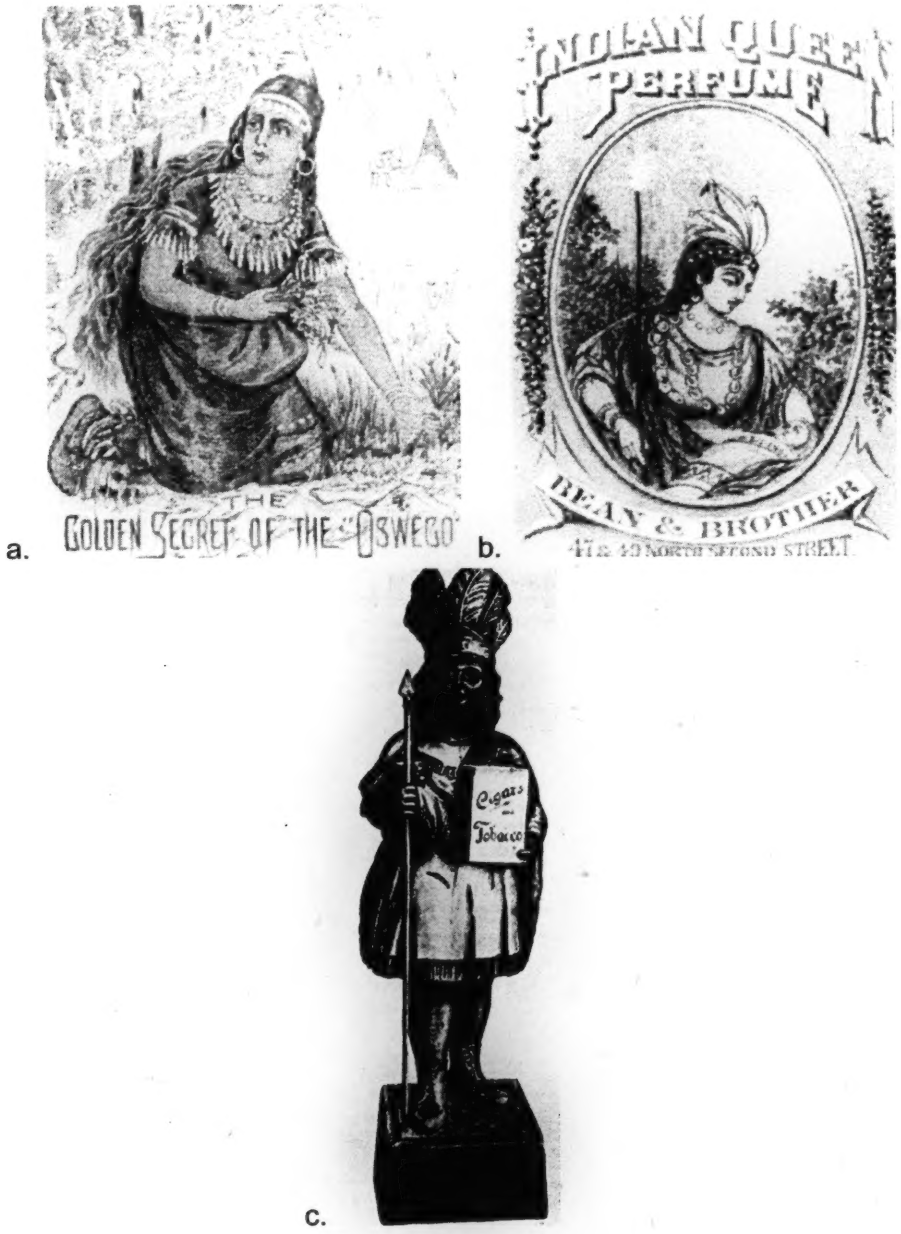

a.
THE
GOLDEN SECRET OF THE "OSWEGO"
b.
INDIAN QUEEN
PERFUME
BEAN & BROTHER
47 & 49 NORTH SECOND STREET
Cigars and Tobacco
c.

Figure 54

a: *"The Golden Secret of the Oswego,"* advertising booklet for Austen's Oswego Bitters, 1882.

b: Bean and Brother, *Trade card for Indian Queen perfume*, Philadelphia.

c: *Wooden cigar-store Indian Princess,* c. 1865.

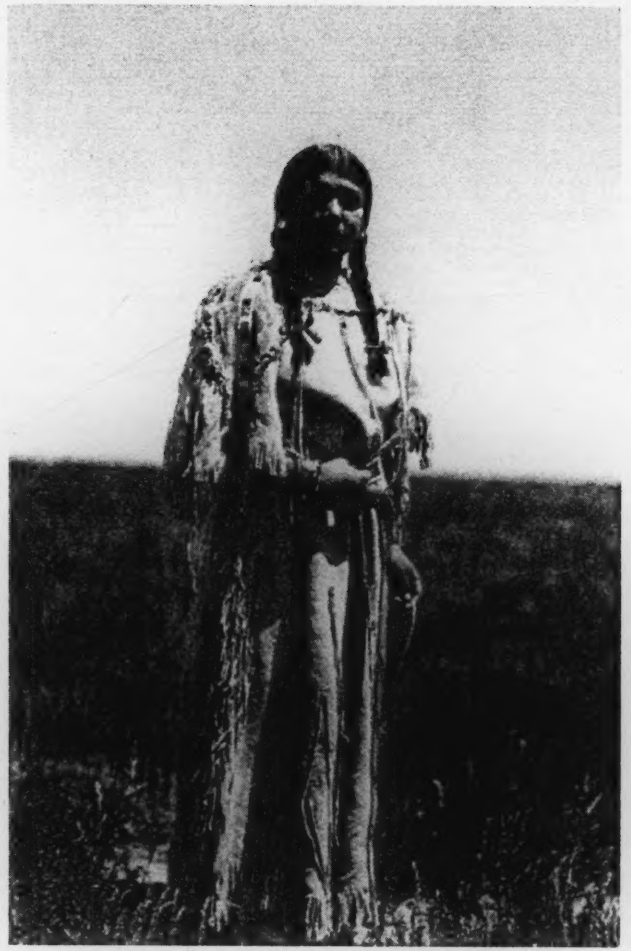


Figure 55

Edward Sheriff Curtis, *"The Chief Had a Beautiful Daughter."*

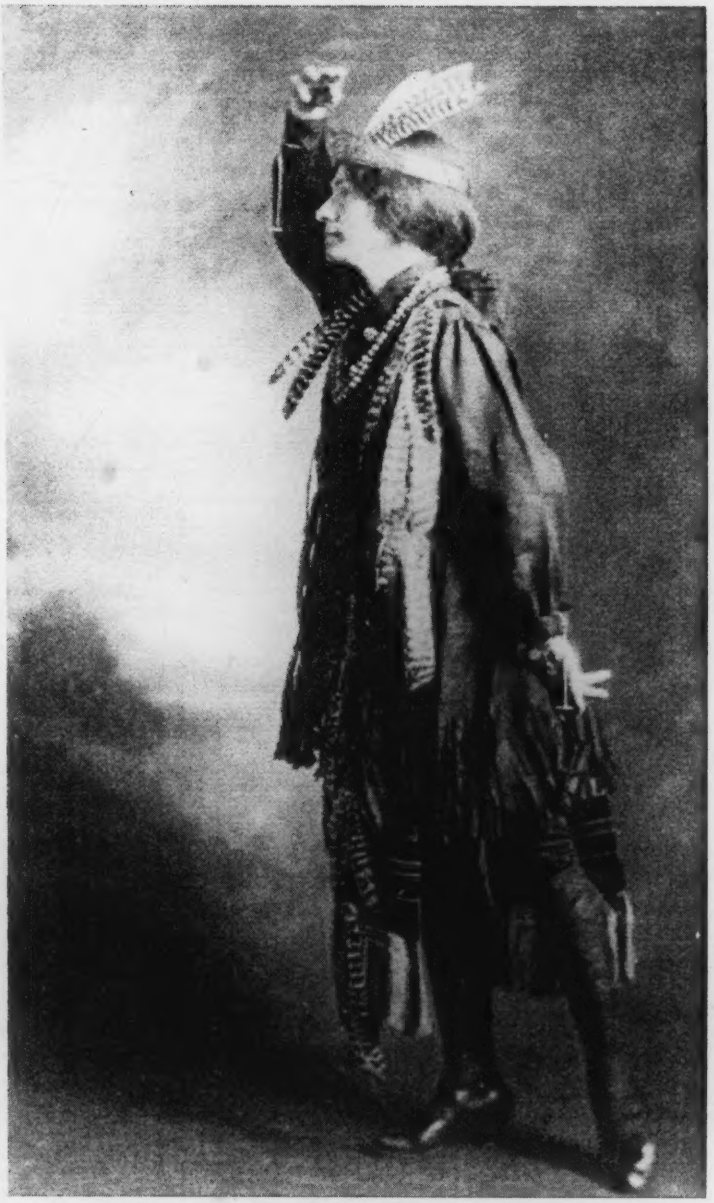


Figure 56

Annie Oakley in Indian costume.

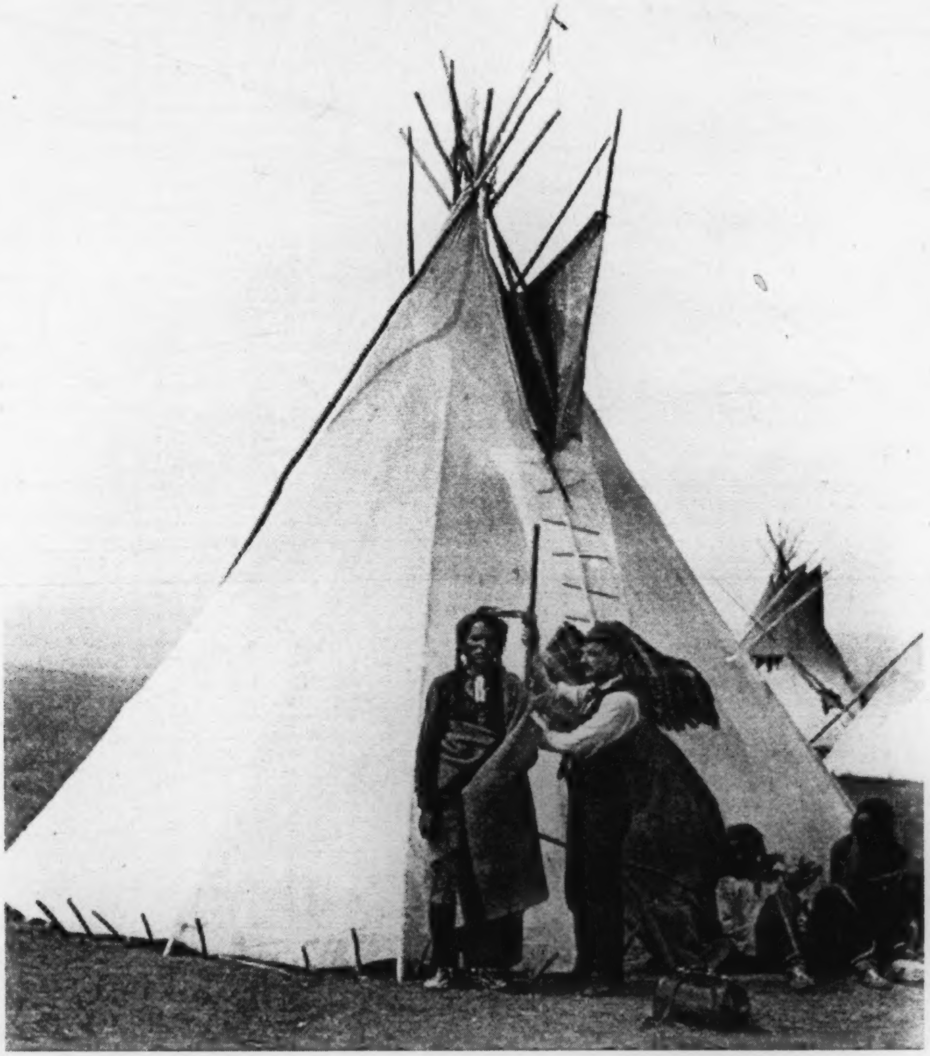


Figure 57

Photographing and measuring native man of Alberta, c. 1910s, southern Alberta.

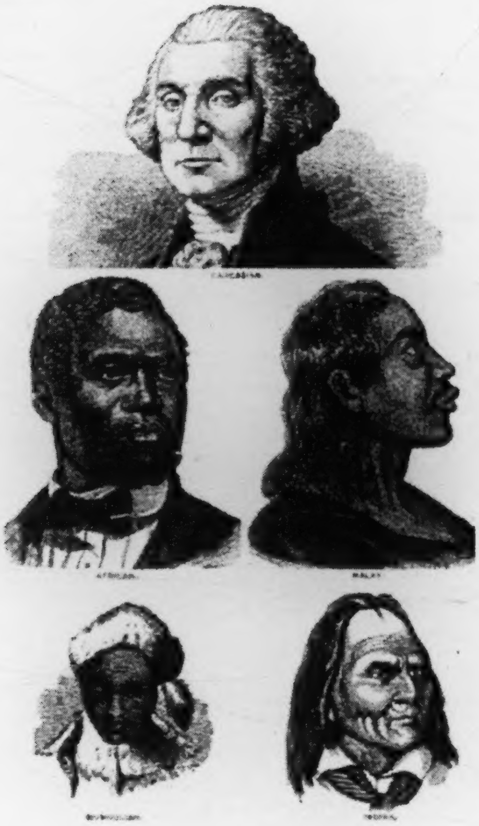
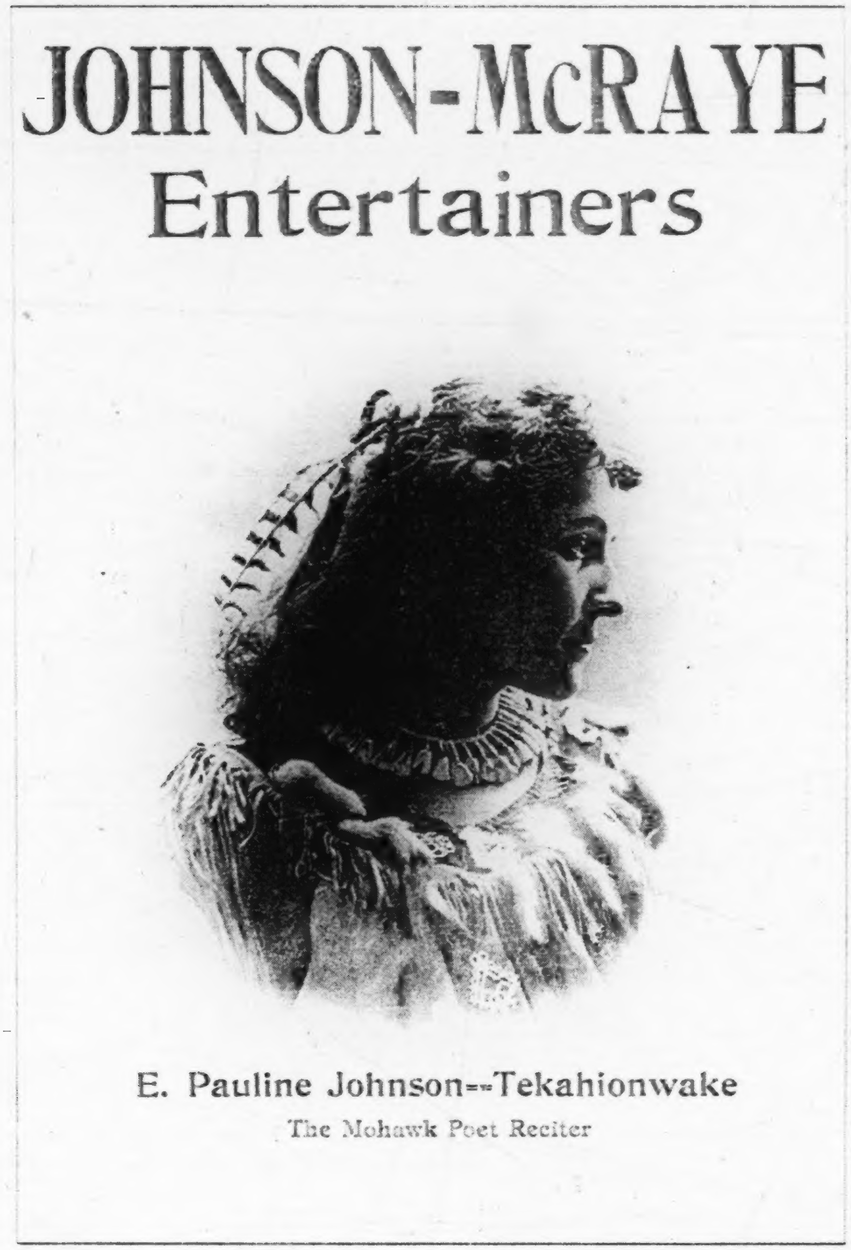

CAUCASIAN
AFRICAN
MALAY
MONGOLIAN
INDIAN

Figure 58

"Racial hierarchies," from John Jeffries' 1869 *Natural History of the Human Races.*



JOHNSON-McRAYE
Entertainers

E. Pauline Johnson--Tekahionwake
The Mohawk Poet Reciter

Figure 59

Advertising lithograph for Pauline Johnson and Walter MacRaye, c. 1897 or 1901-1909, photograph c. 1896-7.

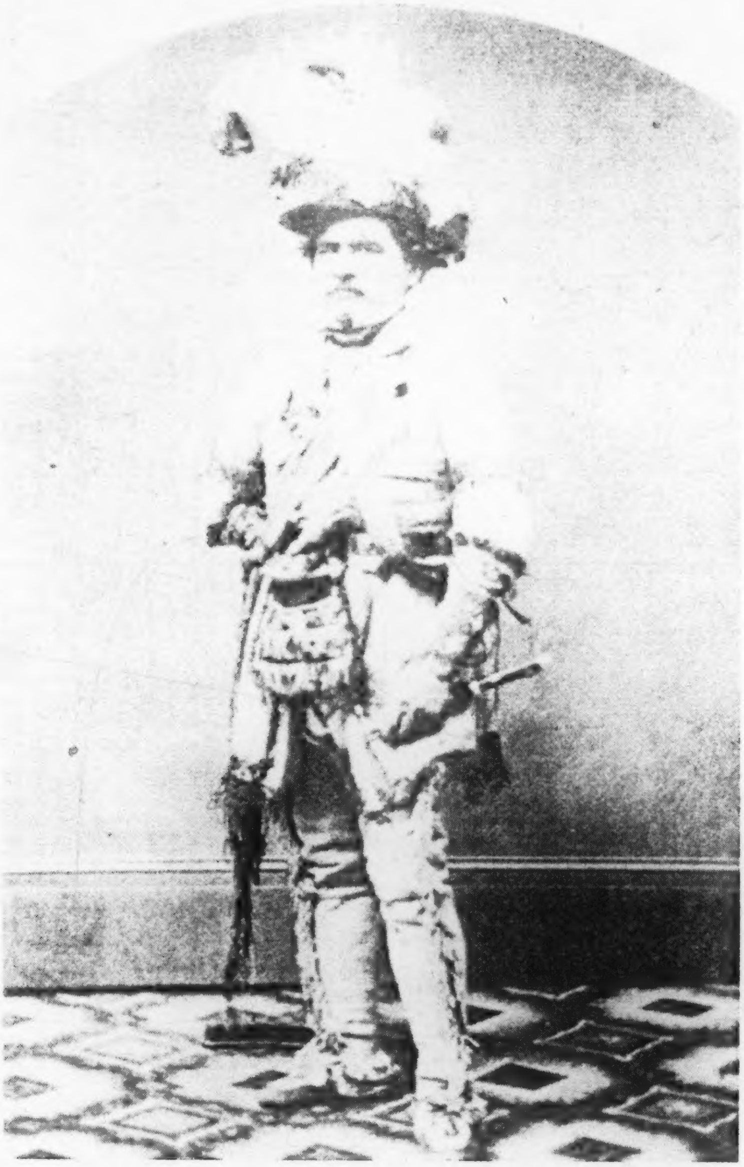


Figure 60

Edy and McMichael, *George Johnson in native style costume*, 1864, Brantford, Ontario.

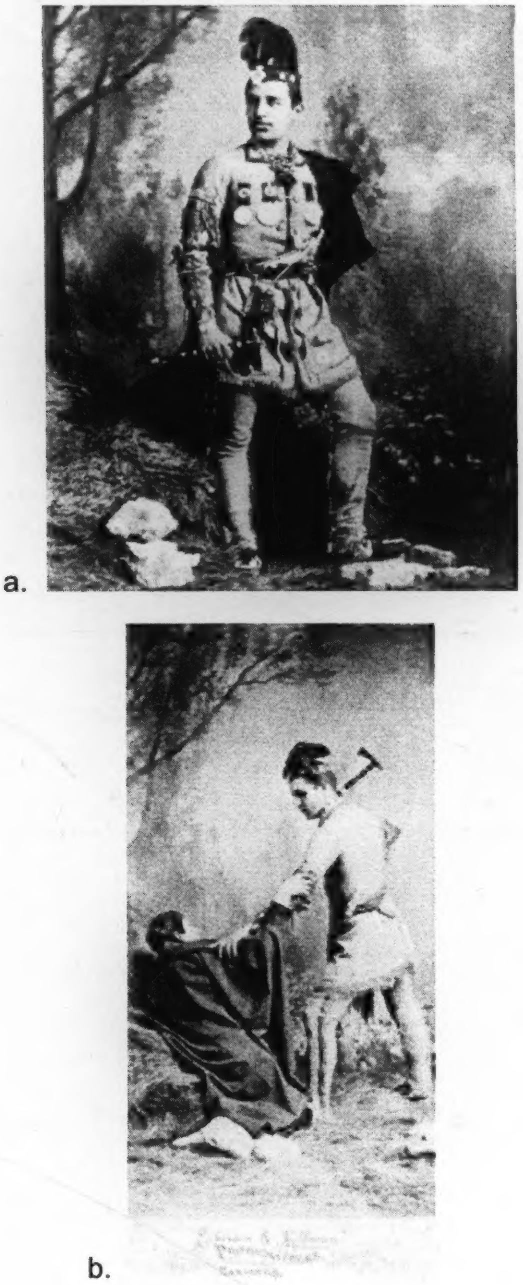


Figure 61

a: *Allan Johnson in native costume*, c. late 1880s-1890s.

b: Eckerson & Millman, *Henry Beverly Johnson in native costume*, c. late 1880s-1890s, Hamilton, Ontario.

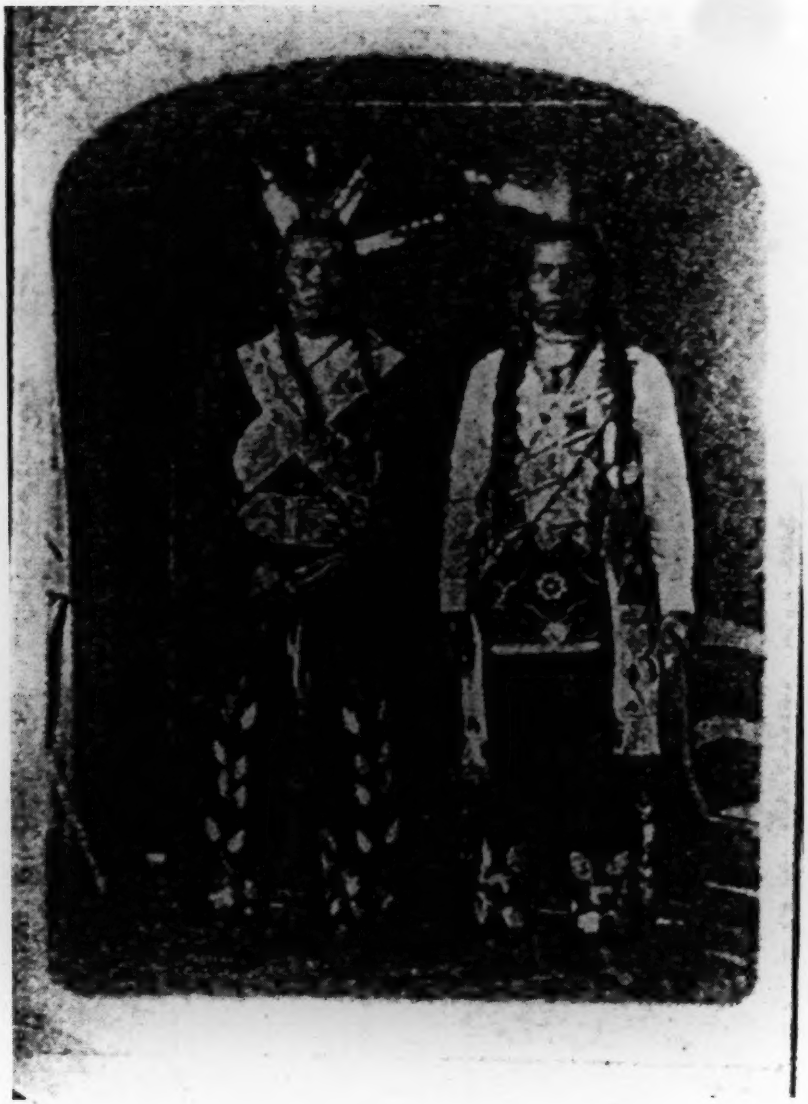


Figure 62

Two Red Lake Chippewa men.

[Written on the back of the photograph in Ojibway "Chief Red Robe and his son Shelter Against the Wind" and below that "Chief Meskokonaei, son of the celebrated Chief Moose-dung and commonly known by that name, and his son, Shelter Against the Wind"]

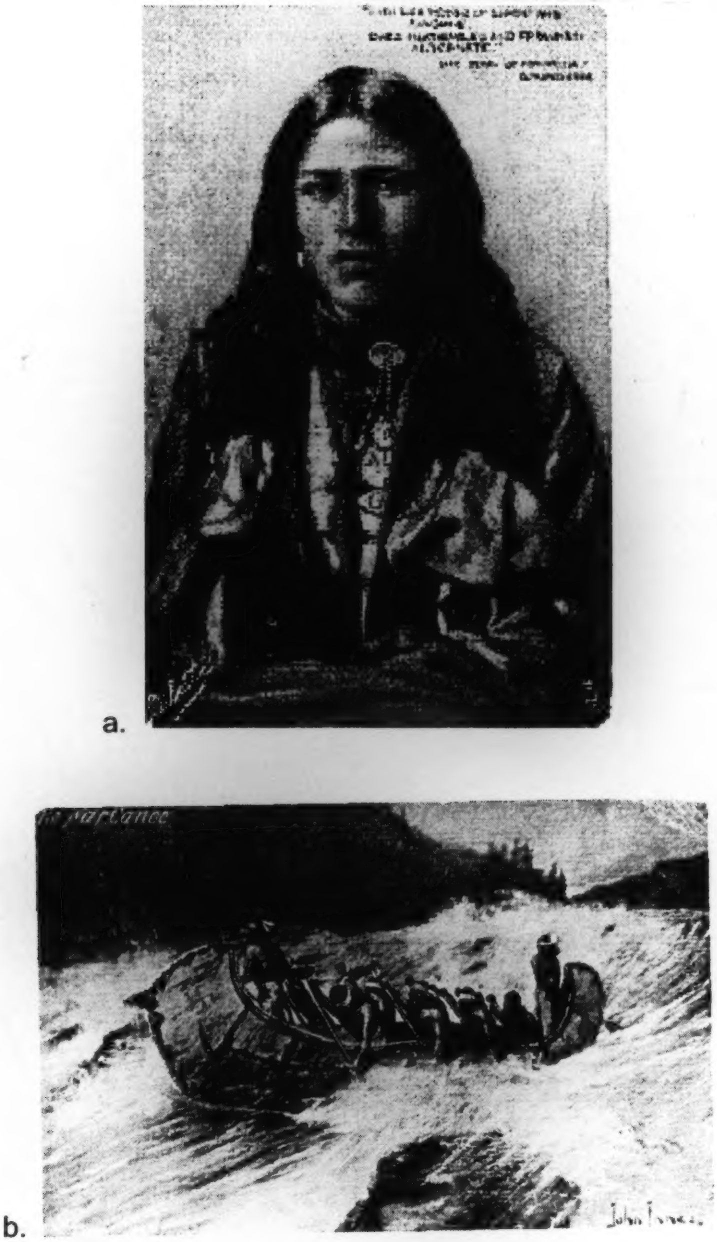

a.
The War Canoe
John Innes
b.

Figure 63

a: *"Minnehaha,"* postcard, sent from Allen Johnson to his sister Pauline.

b: *"The War Canoe,"* postcard, sent from Allen Johnson to his sister Pauline.

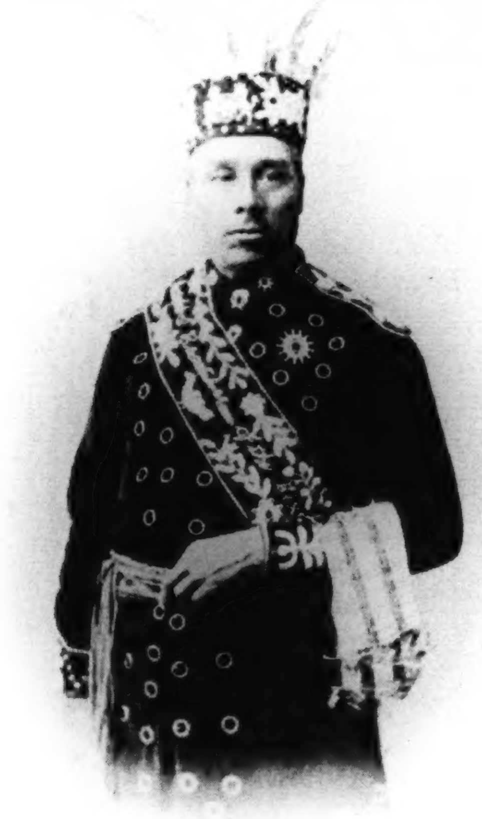


Figure 64

Onondaga Seth Newhouse.

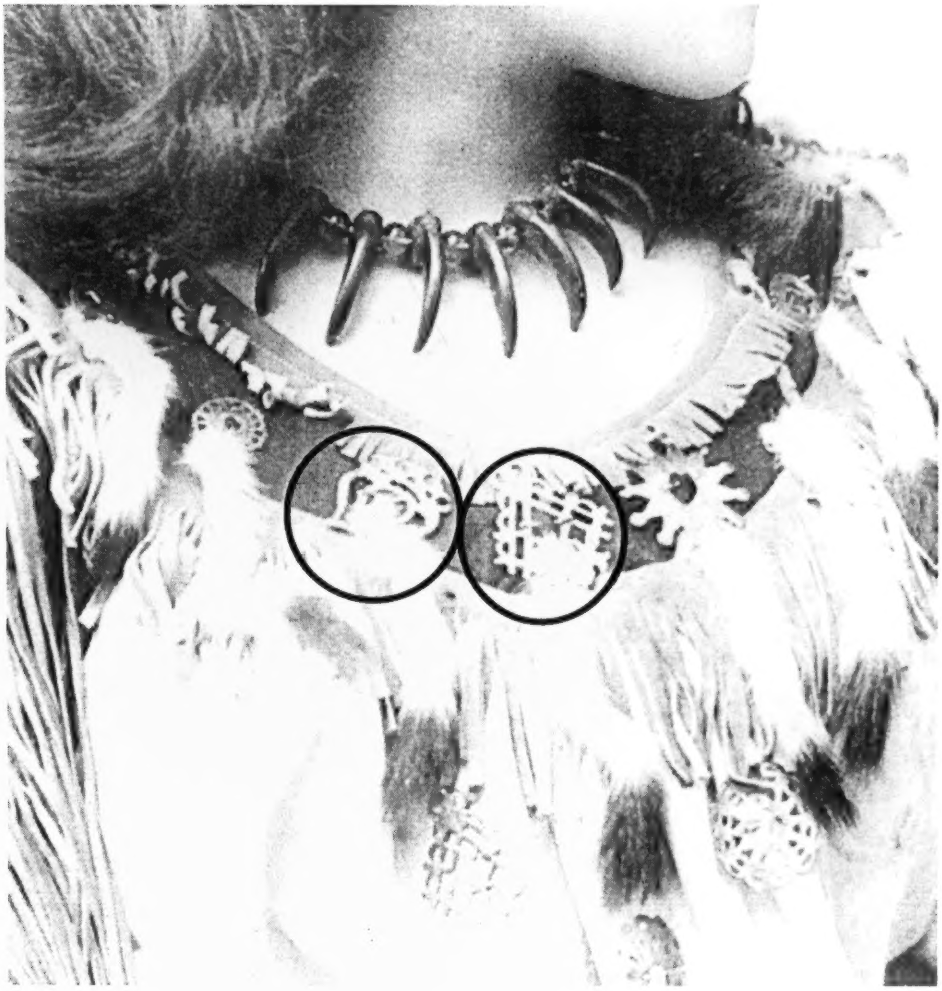


Figure 65

Detail of Johnson's buckskin bodice with Haudenosaunee brooches, c. 1895, (circled at center is the 'Wolf' brooch and on its left, 'The National Badge of the Iroquois').

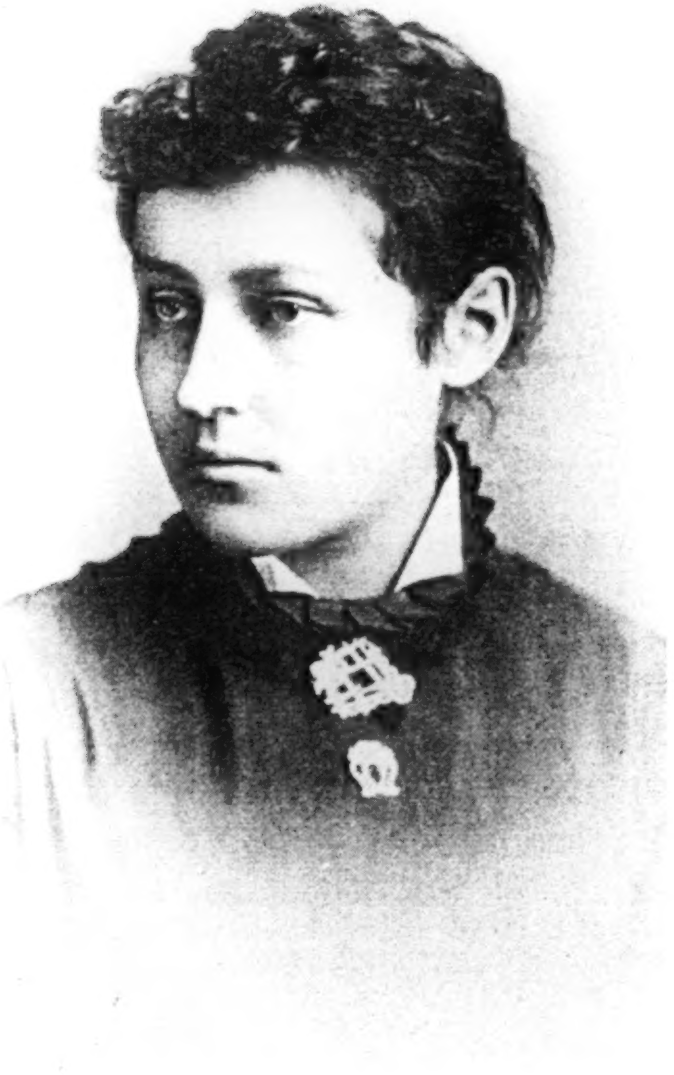


Figure 66

Pauline Johnson in Euro-Canadian dress wearing Haudenosaunee brooches, ('Wolf' brooch pinned sideways at top and 'National Badge of the Iroquois' below), c. 1870s.

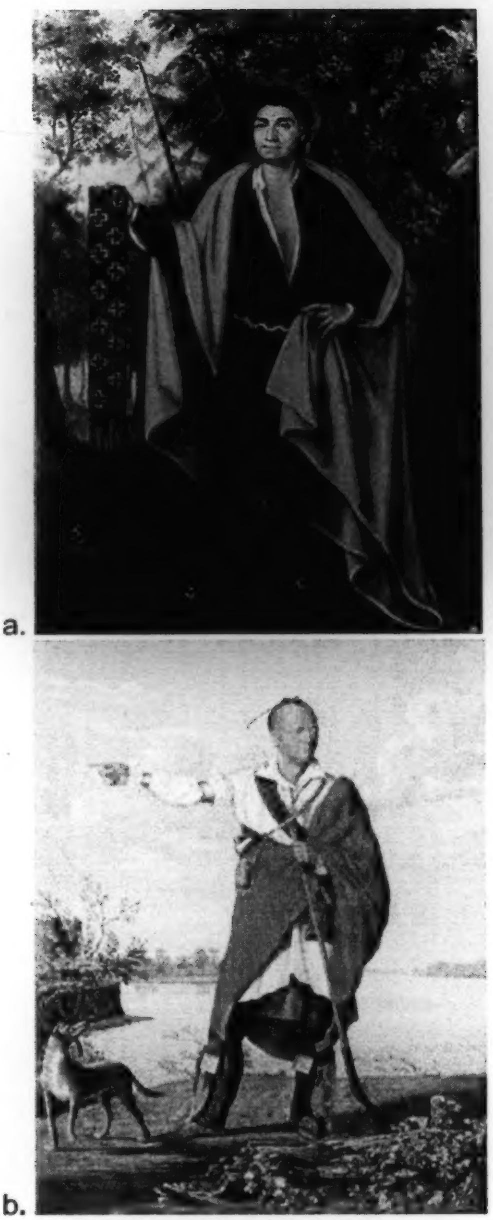


Figure 67

a: John Verelst, *“Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row,”* c. 1710.

b: William Berczy, *“Joseph Brant,”* c. 1805.

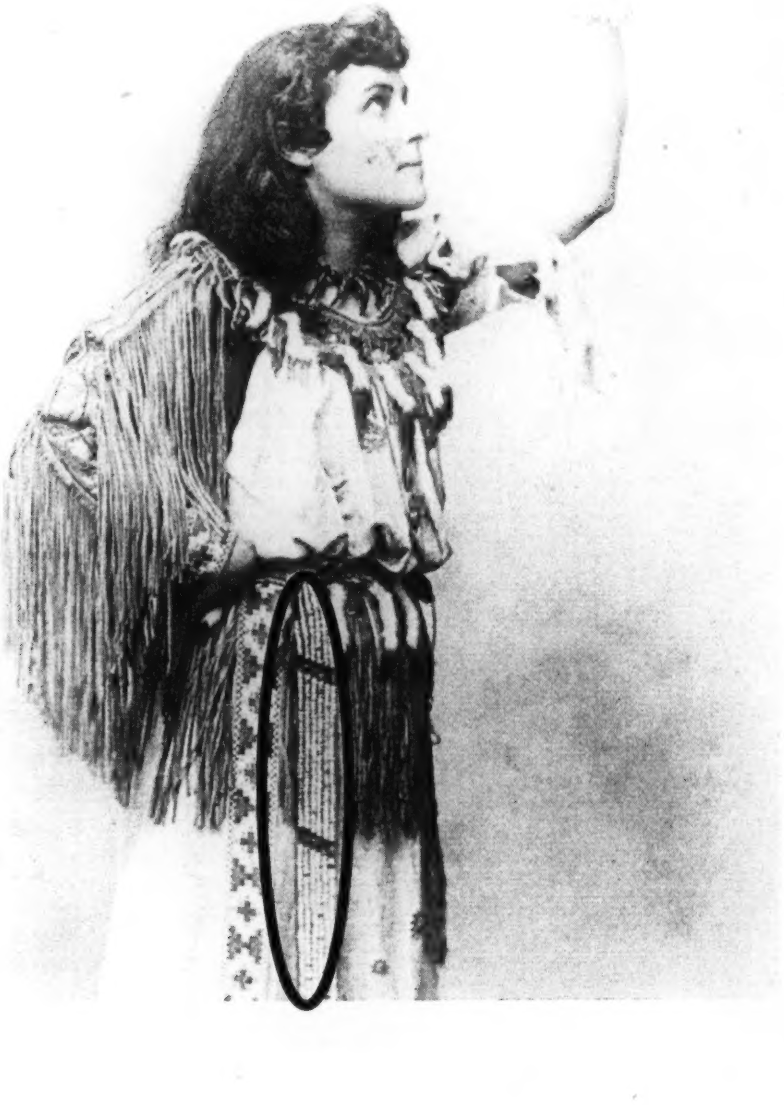
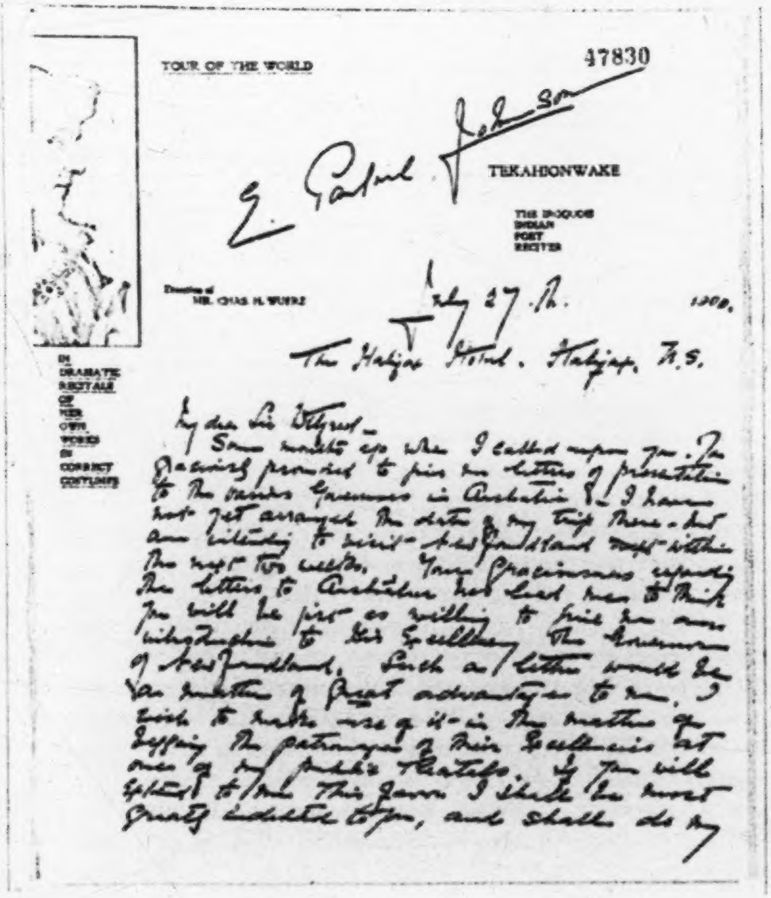


Figure 68

Publicity portrait of Johnson, (wampum belt circled), c. 1895-1898.



TOUR OF THE WORLD

47830

E. Pauline Johnson

TEKAHIONWAKE

THE IROQUOIS
INDIAN
POET
RECITER

Direction of
MR. CHAS. H. WUERZ

July 27th. 1900.

The Halifax Hotel. Halifax, N.S.

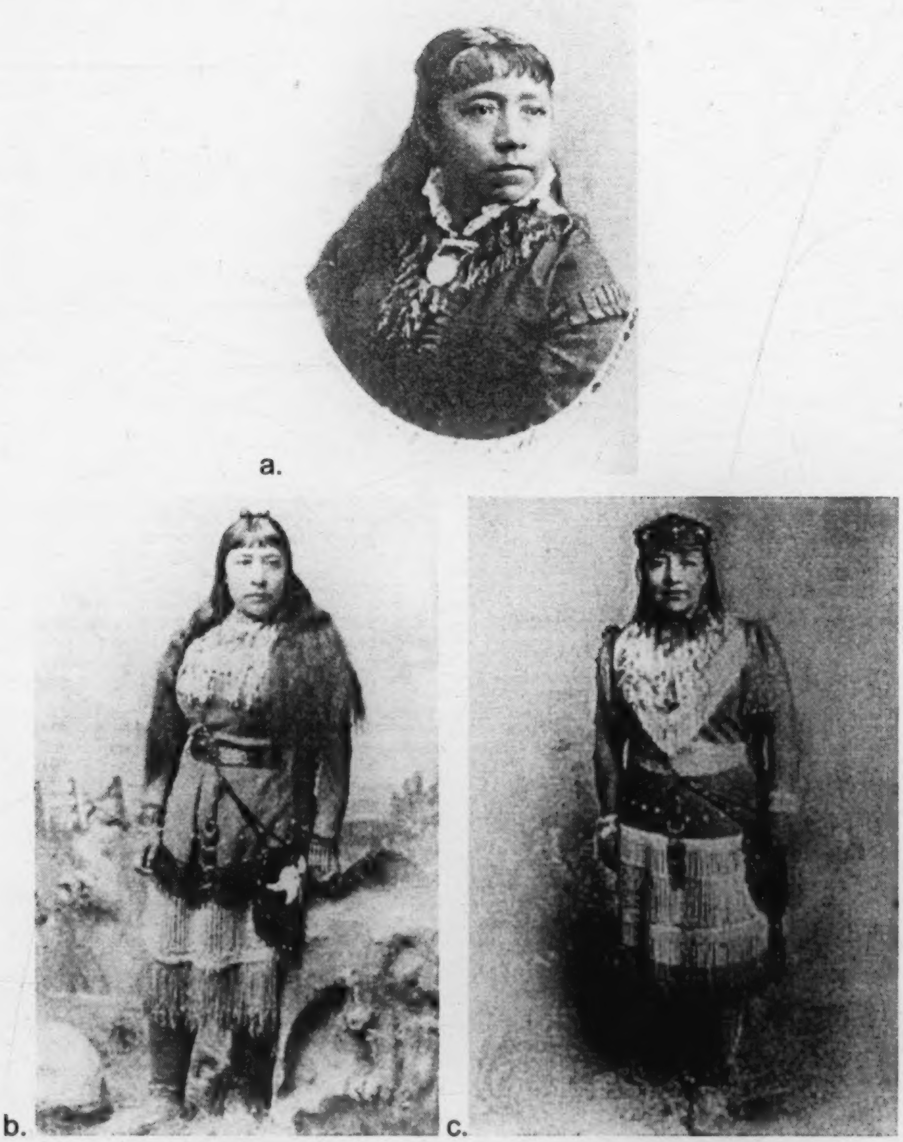
IN
DRAMATIC
RECITALS
OF
HER
OWN
WORKS
IN
CORRECT
COSTUMES

My dear Sir Wilfrid—

Some months ago when I called upon you. You graciously promised to give me letters of presentation to the various Governors in Australia &c. I have not yet arranged the date of my trip there—but am intending to visit Newfoundland [illegible] within the next two weeks. Your graciousness regarding the letters to Australia has lead me to think you will be just as willing to give me an introduction to His Excellency the Governor of Newfoundland. Such a letter would be [illegible] matter of great advantage to me. I wish to make use of it in the matter of getting the patronage of their Excellencies at one of my public recitals. If you will extend to me this favor I shall be most greatly indebted to you, and shall do my

Figure 69

Pauline Johnson's 1900 letterhead, letter to Sir Wilfrid Laurier (Prime Minister of Canada), 27 July 1900.



Figures 70

a: *Sarah Winnemucca*, (inscribed to her brother Natchez) c. 1880s.

b: *Sarah Winnemucca in buckskin costume for lecture tour*, c. 1879.

c: *Photograph of Sarah Winnemucca used for 1883 lecture tour and as author portrait in "Life Among the Piutes,"* (original uncoloured), c. 1883.

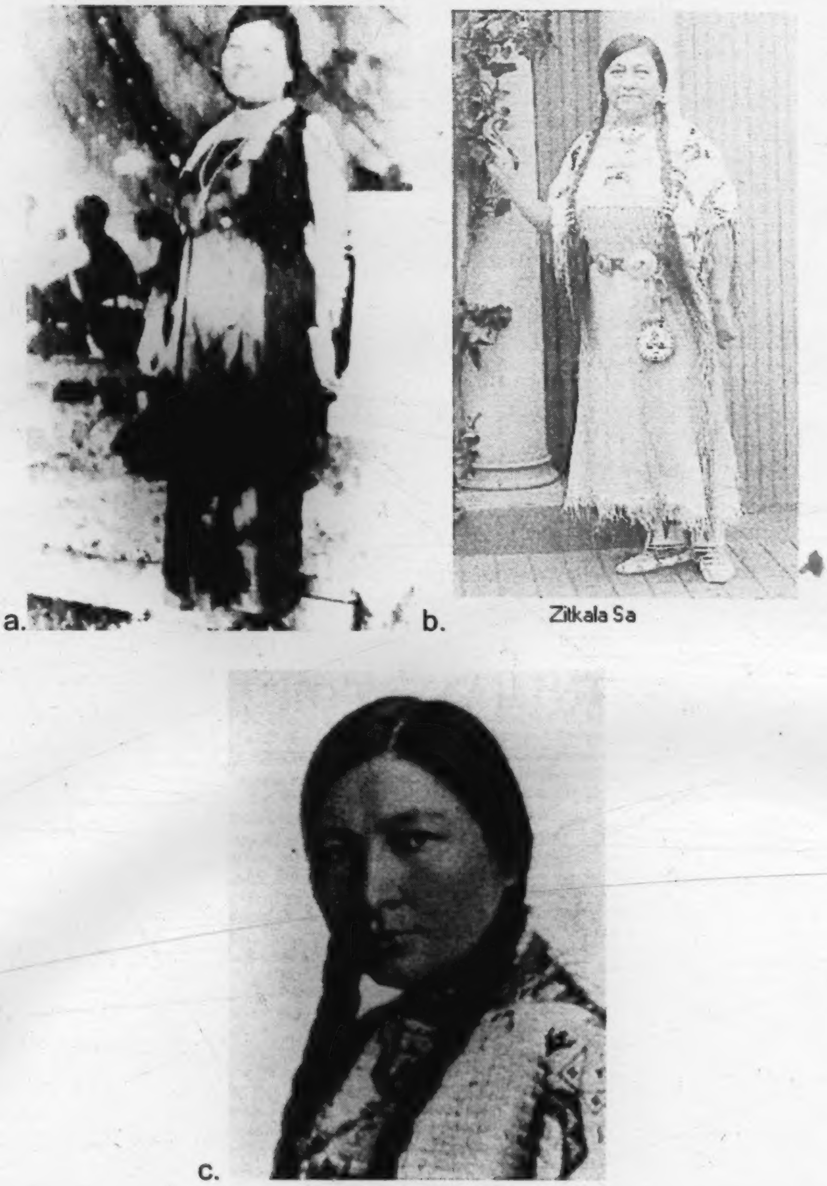
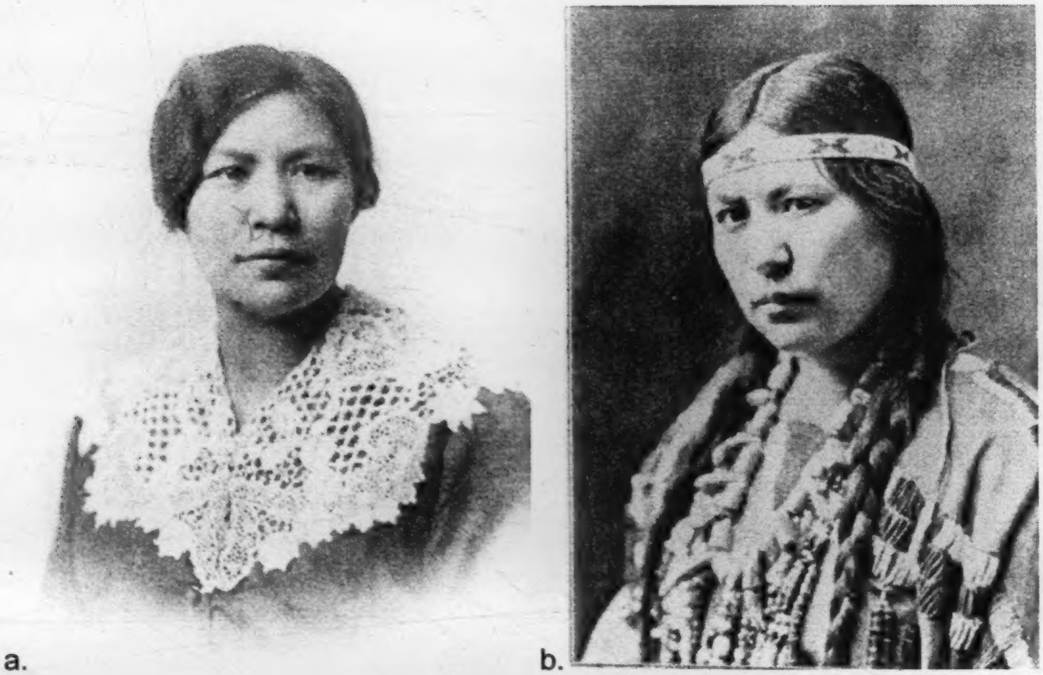


Figure 71

a: *Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala-Sa).*

b: *Zitkala-Sa.*

c: *Author portrait of Zitkala-Sa, frontispiece of "American Indian Stories,"* 1921.



a. b.

Figure 72

a: *Christine Quintasket (nee Haynes)*, c. 1916.
b: *Author portrait of Mourning Dove (Hum-Ishu-Ma) in "Co-ge-we-a The Half Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range,"* 1927.

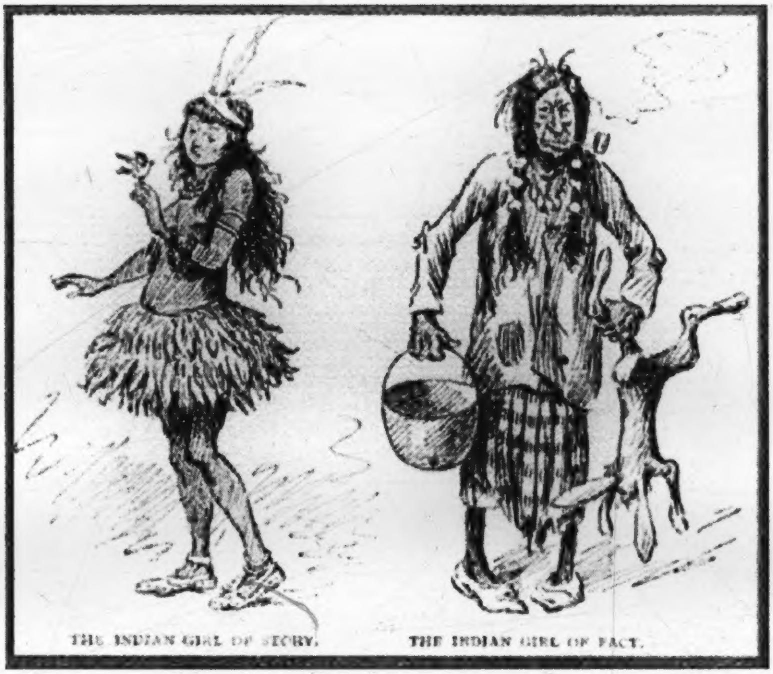
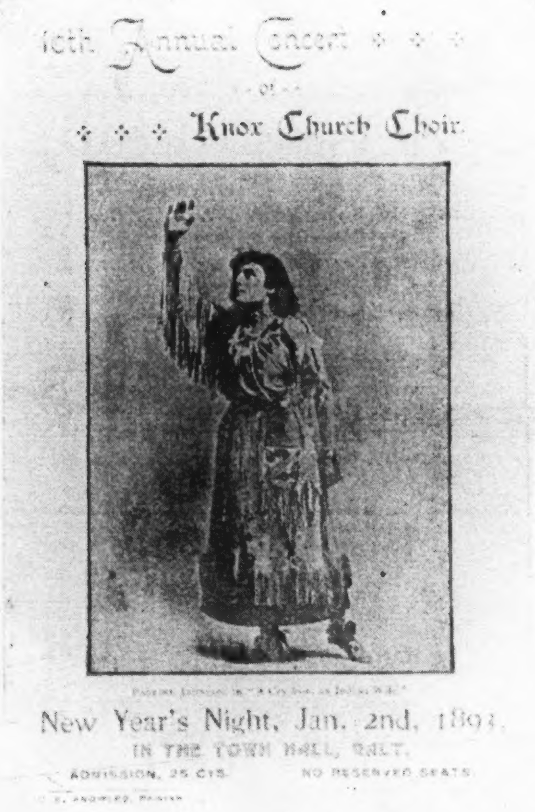

THE INDIAN GIRL OF STORY.
THE INDIAN GIRL OF FACT.

Figure 73

Frederick Opper, *"The Indian Girl of Story. The Indian Girl of Fact."* from Bill Nye's satiric *History of the United States*, 1894.



16th Annual Concert ✣ ✣ ✣

of

✣ ✣ ✣ Knox Church Choir.

New Year's Night, Jan. 2nd, 1893.

IN THE TOWN HALL, GALT.

ADMISSION, 25 CTS. NO RESERVED SEATS.

Figure 74

Pauline Johnson in 'A Cry from an Indian Wife.'

(From cover of programme for the '16th Annual Concert of Knox Church Choir: New Year's Night, Jan. 2nd, 1893.' Galt, Ontario).

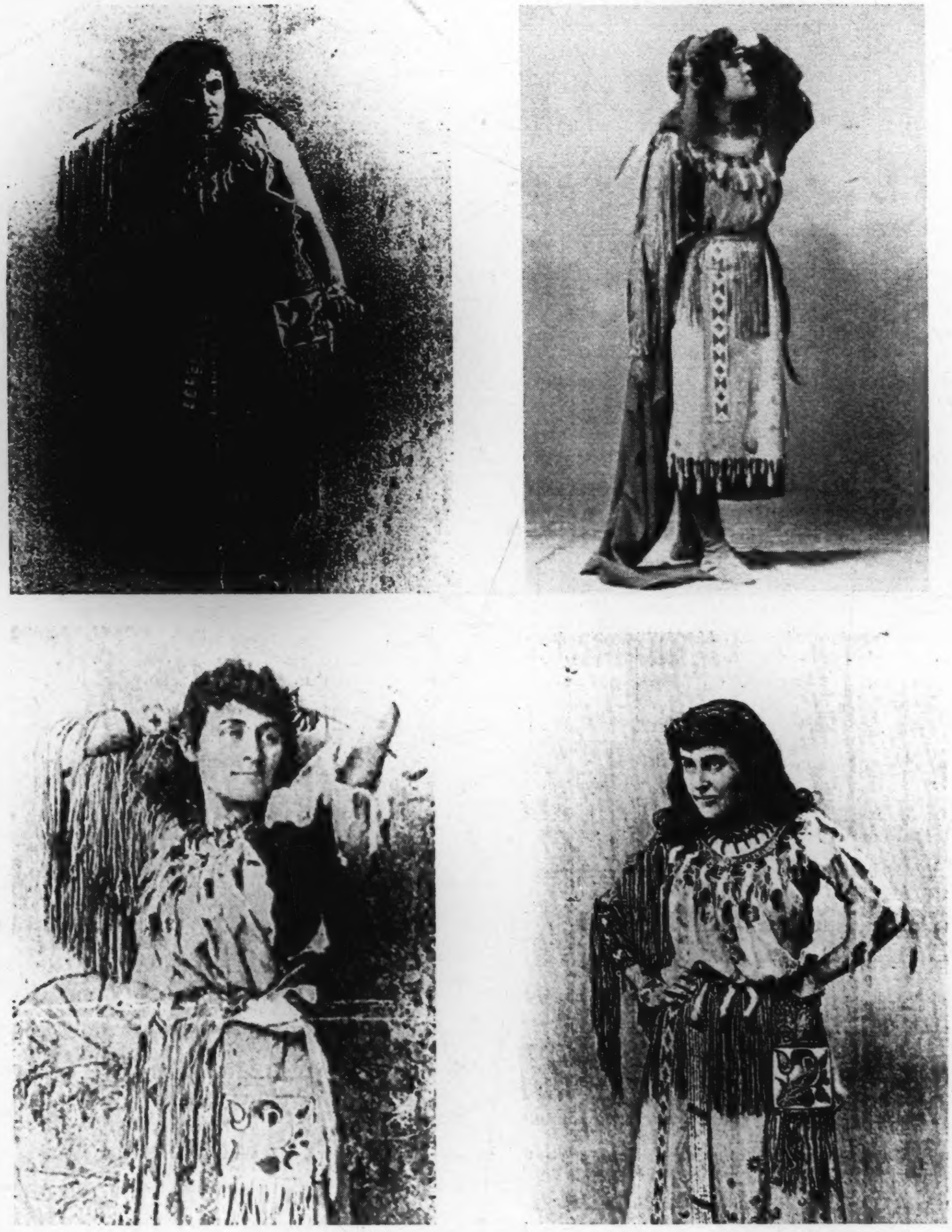


Figure 75

Multiple 'in-performance' portraits used in Pauline Johnson's publicity from 1893-1903.

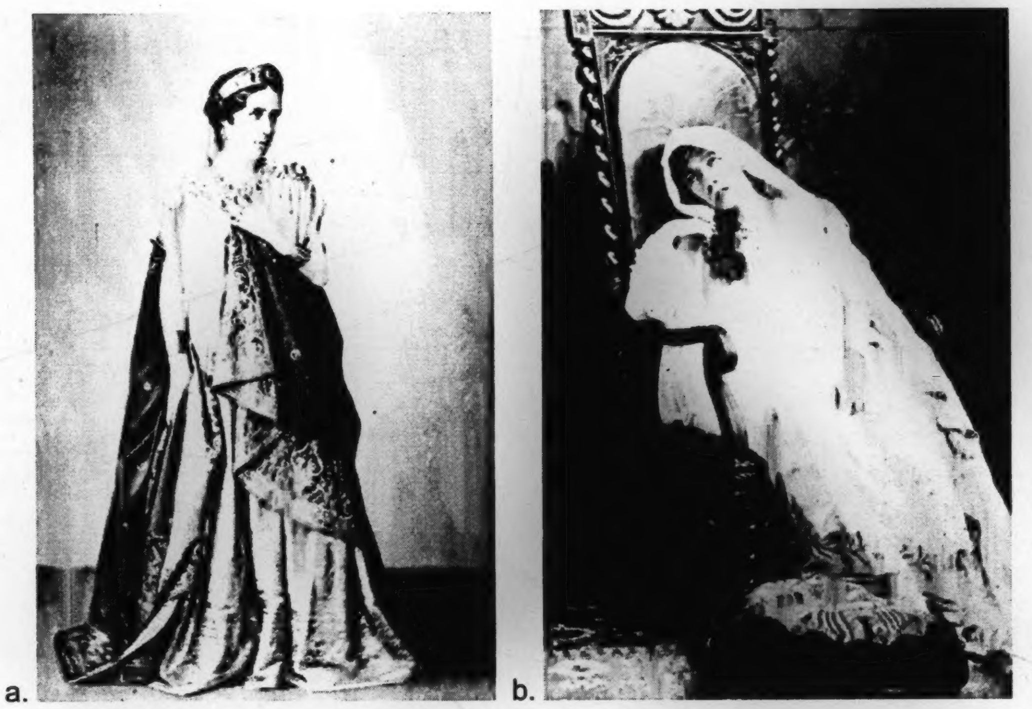
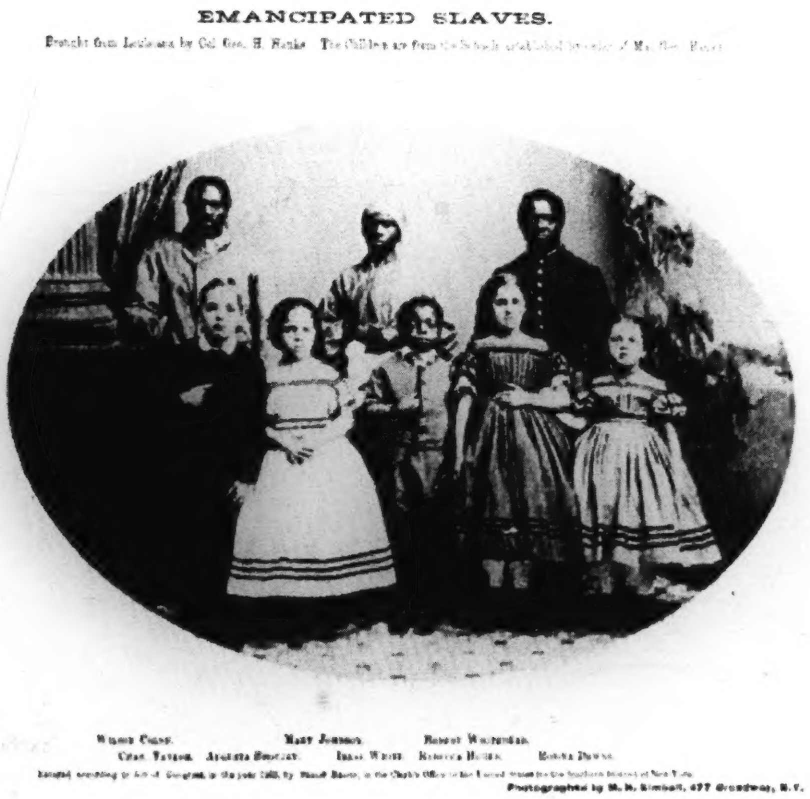


Figure 76

a: Mayer and Pierson, *"Rachel as Phedre."*

b: Napoleon Sarony, *"Sarah Bernhardt as Phedre,"* 1880.



EMANCIPATED SLAVES.

Photographed by M. H. Kimball, 477 Broadway, N.Y.

Figure 77

M. H. Kimball, *Emancipated Slaves*, 1863.

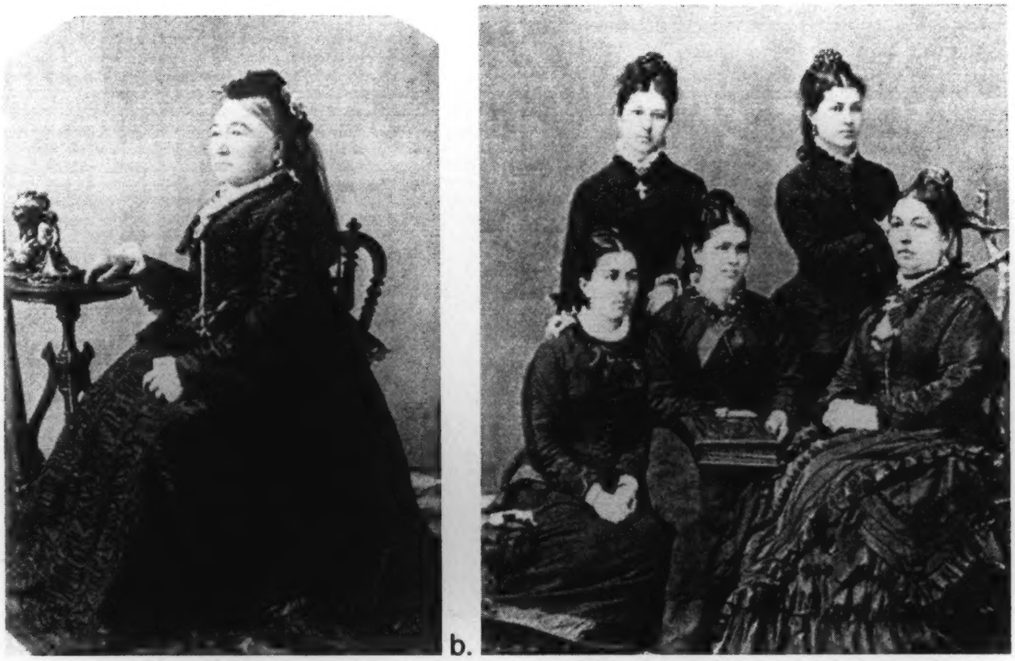
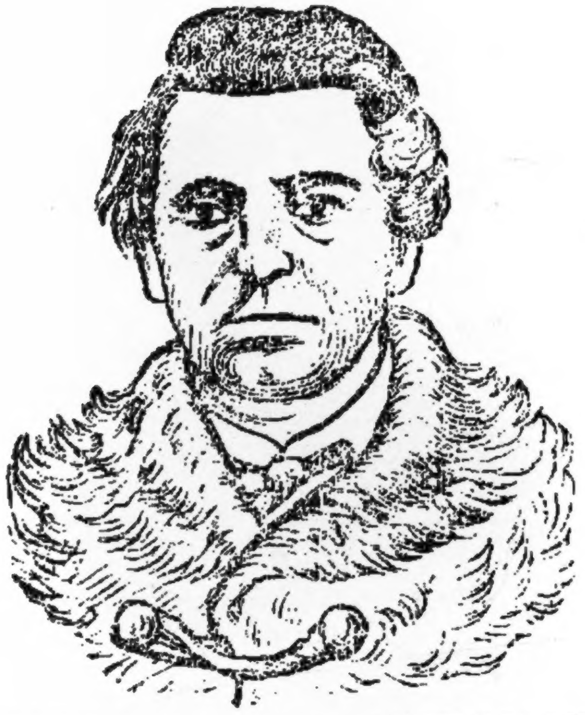


Figure 78

a: S. A. Spencer, *"Josette Legace Work as 'Queen Victoria',"* Victoria, British Columbia.

b: Hannah Maynard, *"Five Surviving Daughters of Captain W.H. McNeill and His Haida Wife,"* c. 1875, Victoria, British Columbia.



LOUIS RIEL, FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1870.

Figure 79

“Louis Riel,” *The Globe*, Friday, 20 March 1885, drawing made from 1870 photograph.

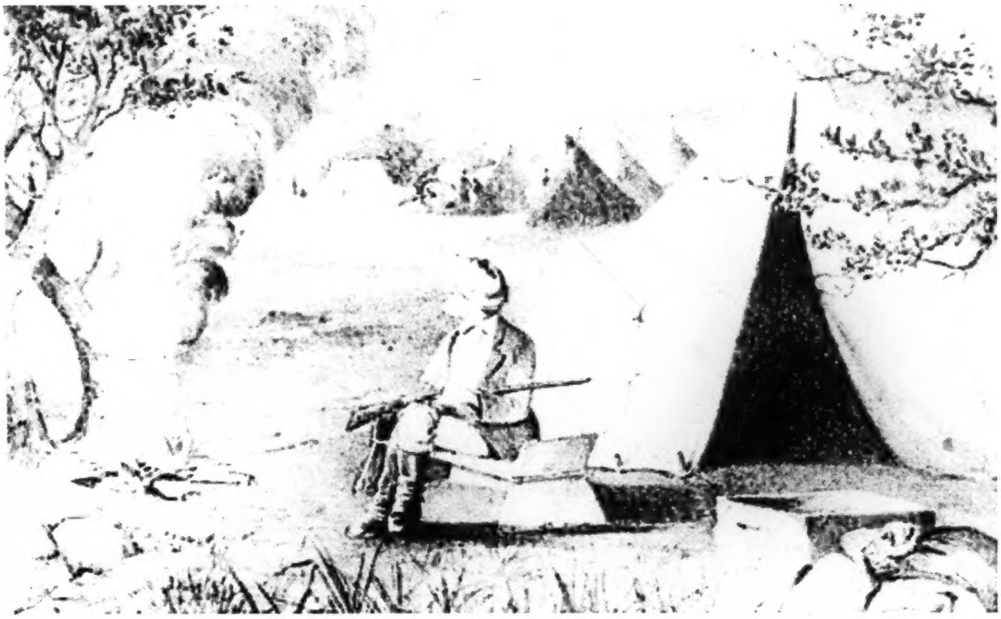
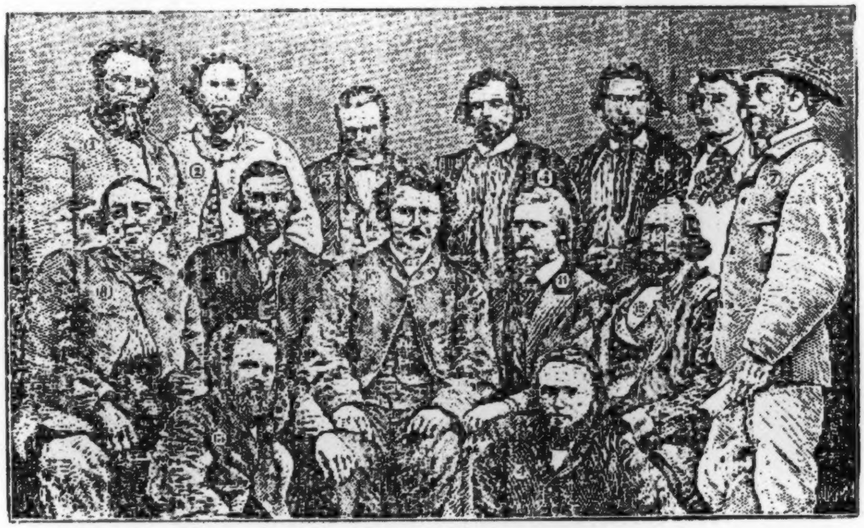


Figure 80

Metis John Pritchard, 4 July 1885, illustration - souvenir edition, *Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News.*

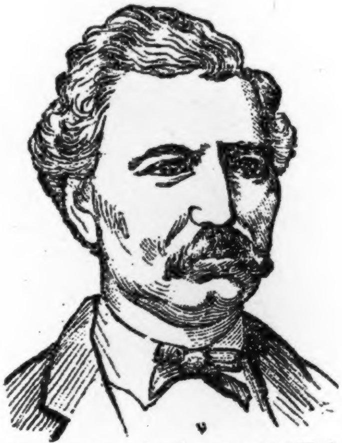


RIEL'S FIRST CABINET.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH KINDLY LOANED THE STAR BY MR. GEORGE CONSTINE

1 Larocque; 2 P. Delorme; 3 T. Bunn; 4 A. Page; 6 P. Tourond; 7 T. Spence; 8 P. Poitras; 9 J. Bruce; 10 L. Riel; 11 John O'Donoghue; 12 A. Dufresne; 13 P. O'Lone; 14 Paul Proulx.

a. -



LOUIS RIEL, FROM A PORTRAIT O FIVE YEARS AGO.

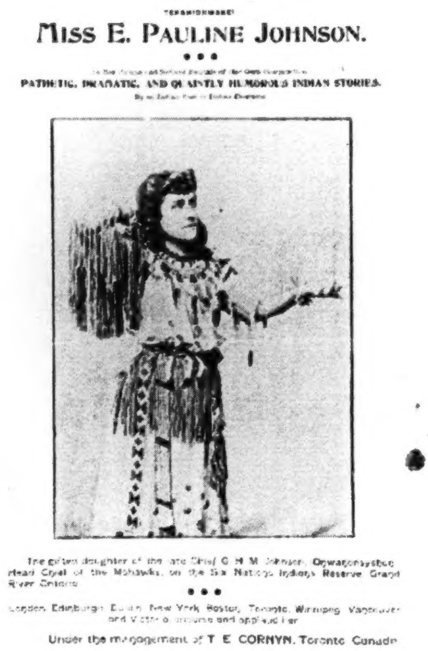
b.

Figure 81

a: *"Riel's First Cabinet"*

b. *"Louis Riel, From a Portrait Of Five Years Ago."*

The Globe, Friday, 20 March 1885, drawings from photographs.



MISS E. PAULINE JOHNSON.

• • •

PATHETIC, DRAMATIC, AND QUAINTLY HUMOROUS INDIAN STORIES.

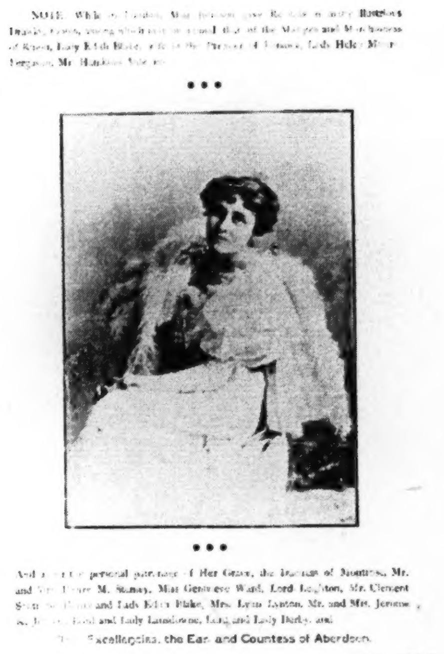
The gifted daughter of the late Chief G. H. M. Johnson, Onwanonsyshon, Head Chief of the Mohawks, on the Six Nations Indians Reserve, Grand River, Ontario.

• • •

London, Edinburgh, Dublin, New York, Boston, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver and Victoria [illegible] and applaud her

Under the management of T. E. CORNYN, Toronto, Canada.

a.



• • •

• • •

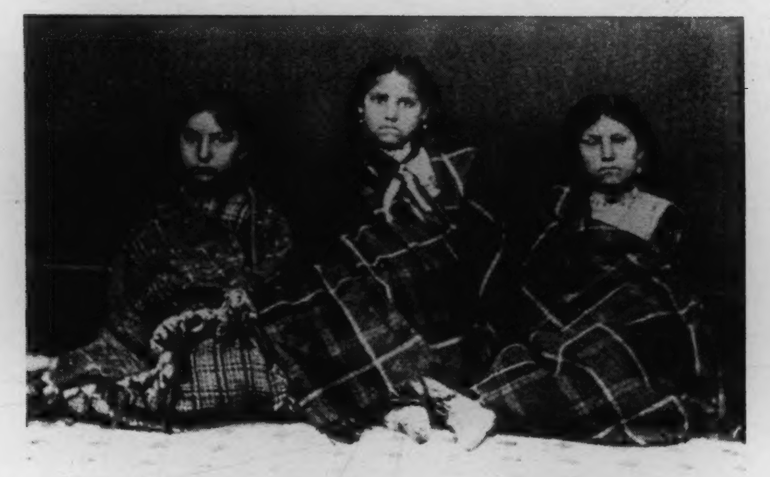
Their Excellencies, the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen.

b.

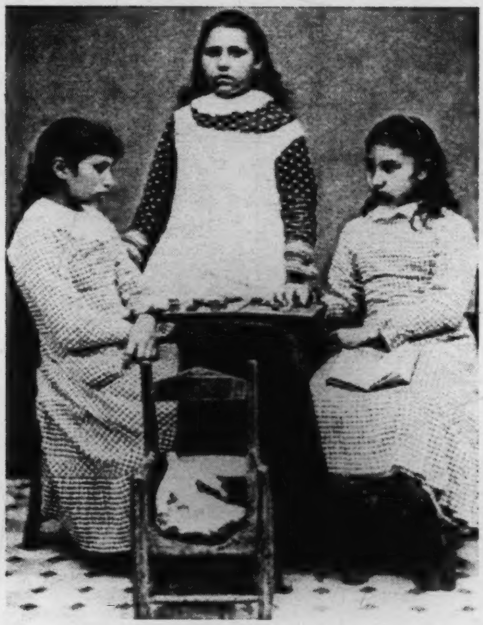
Figures 82

a: *Front cover an 1898 publicity brochure.*

b: *Interior page of an 1898 publicity brochure.*



a.



b.

Figure 83

a: *"On arrival at Hampton, Va.: Carrie Anderson- 12 yrs., Annie Sawson-10 yrs., and Sarah Walker-13 yrs,"* c. 1880s.

b: *"Fourteen months after,"* c. 1880s, Hampton, Virginia.

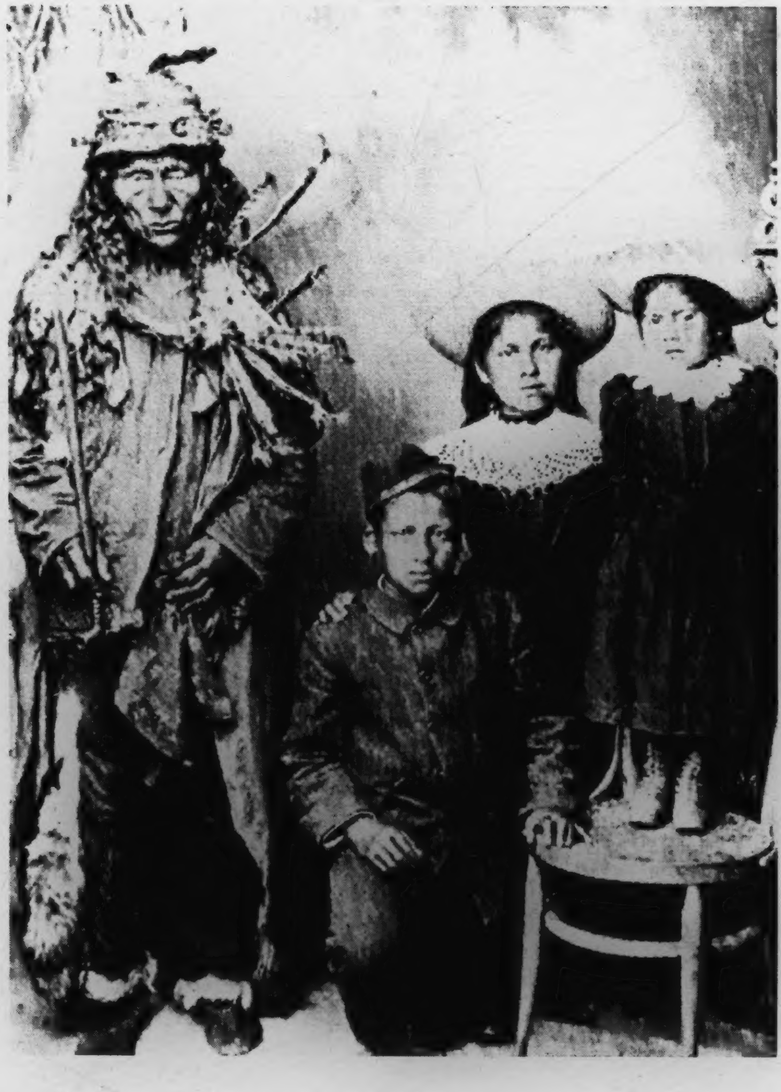
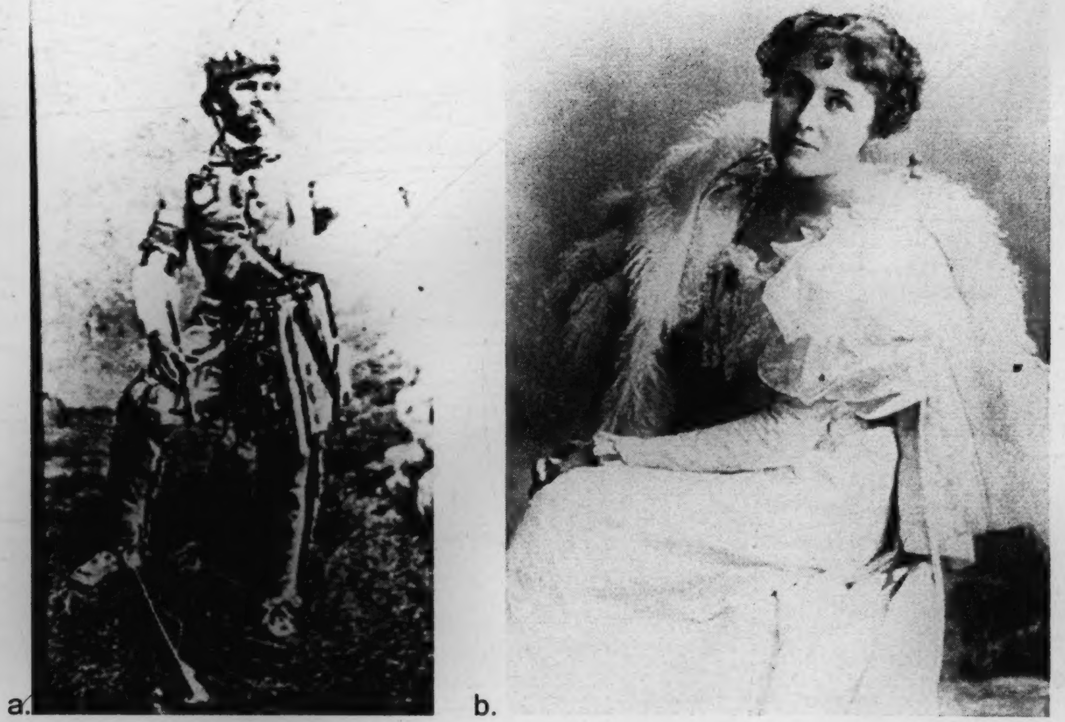


Figure 84

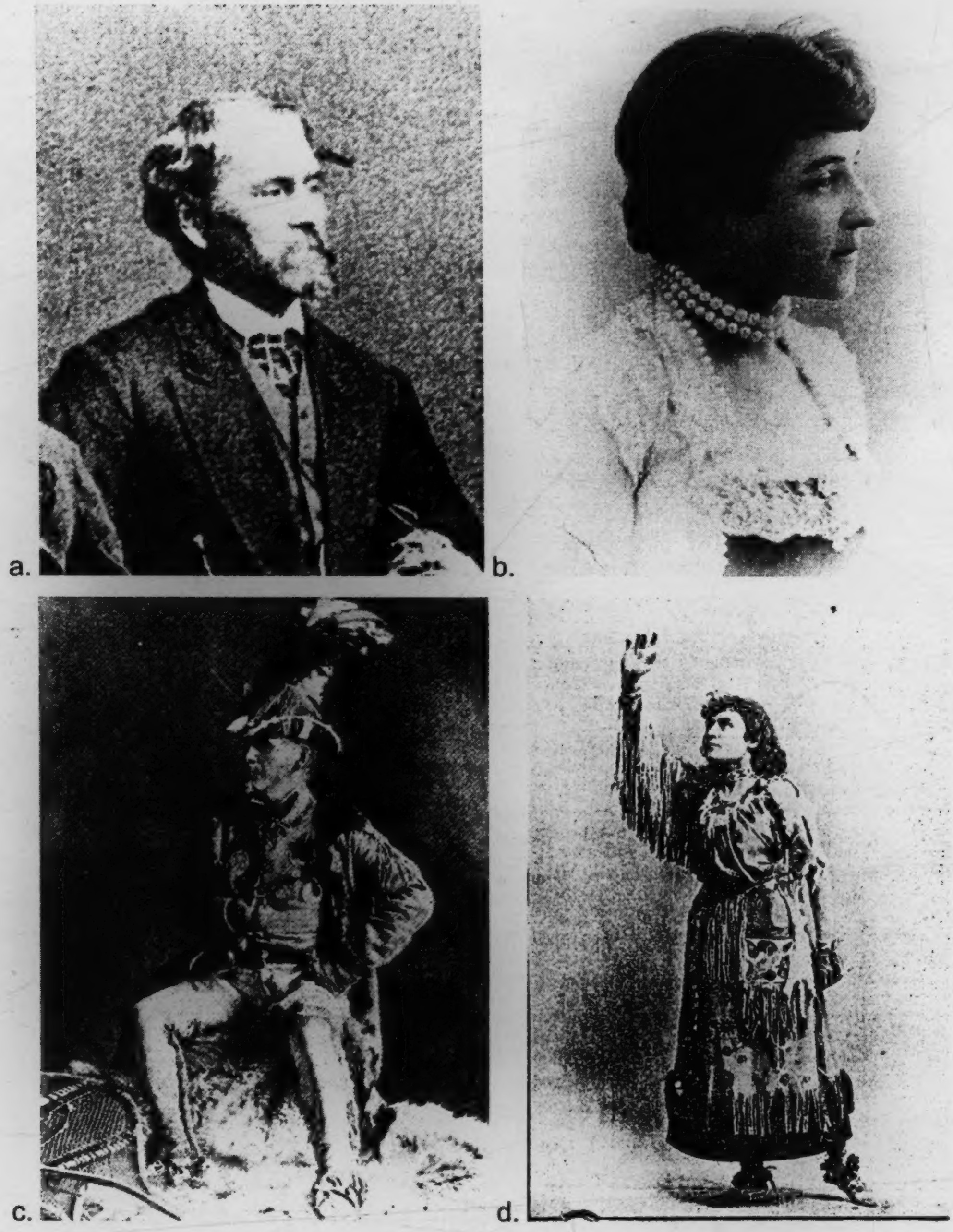
"Quewich and His Children," 1900, used in department of Indian Affairs annual report.



Figures 85

a: C.S. Cochran, *George Johnson in native costume.*

b: O'Leary & Co, *Pauline Johnson in her favourite performance gown,* 1897.



Figures 86

a: *George Johnson from a photograph of Six Nations Chiefs* (detail), 1871.

b: *Pauline Johnson as a young woman*, c. late 1880s.

c: *George Johnson posing in native-style costume*, c. 1870s.

d: *Pauline Johnson posing in native-style costume*, 1892/3.

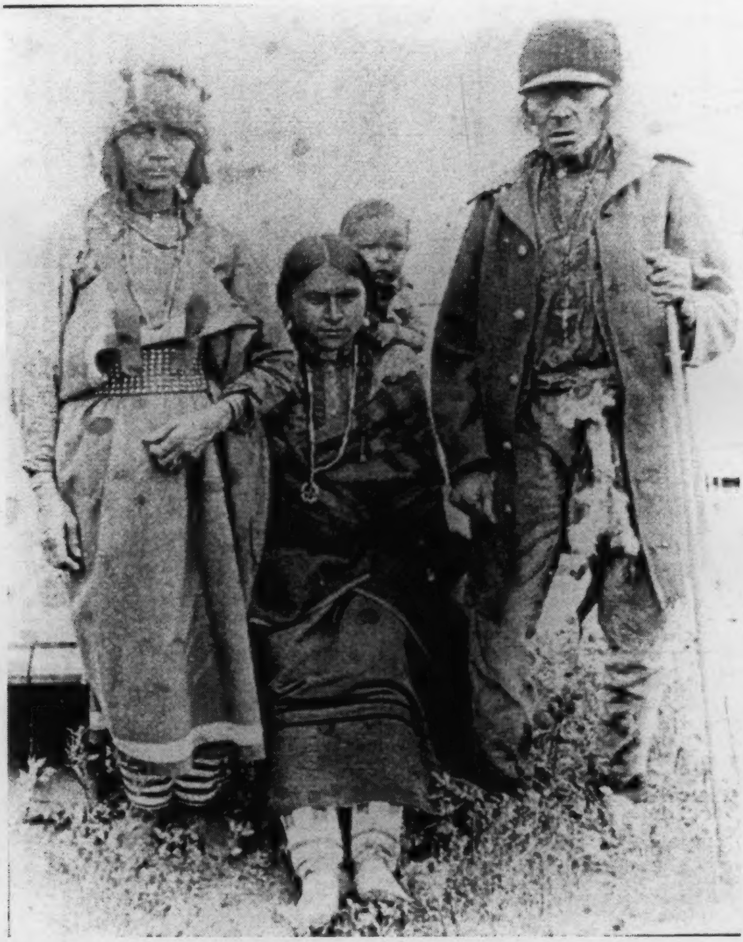


Figure 87

Geraldine Moodie, *"Four Generations of a Family at the Sun Dance Celebration, Showing a Native Gentleman, Skowchas, with His Daughter, Granddaughter and Great-Grandson,"* June 1895.

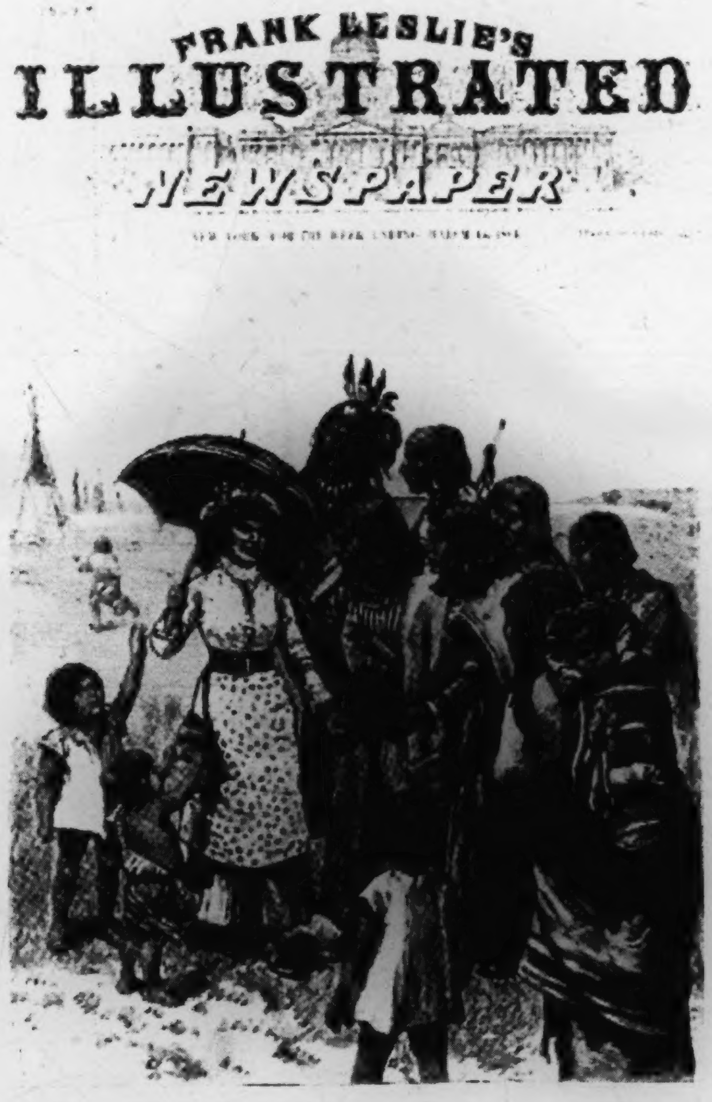

FRANK LESLIE'S
ILLUSTRATED
NEWSPAPER

Figure 88

"Educating the Indians – A female pupil of the government school at Carlisle visits her home at Pine Ridge Agency," cover - *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, c. 1880-1890s.

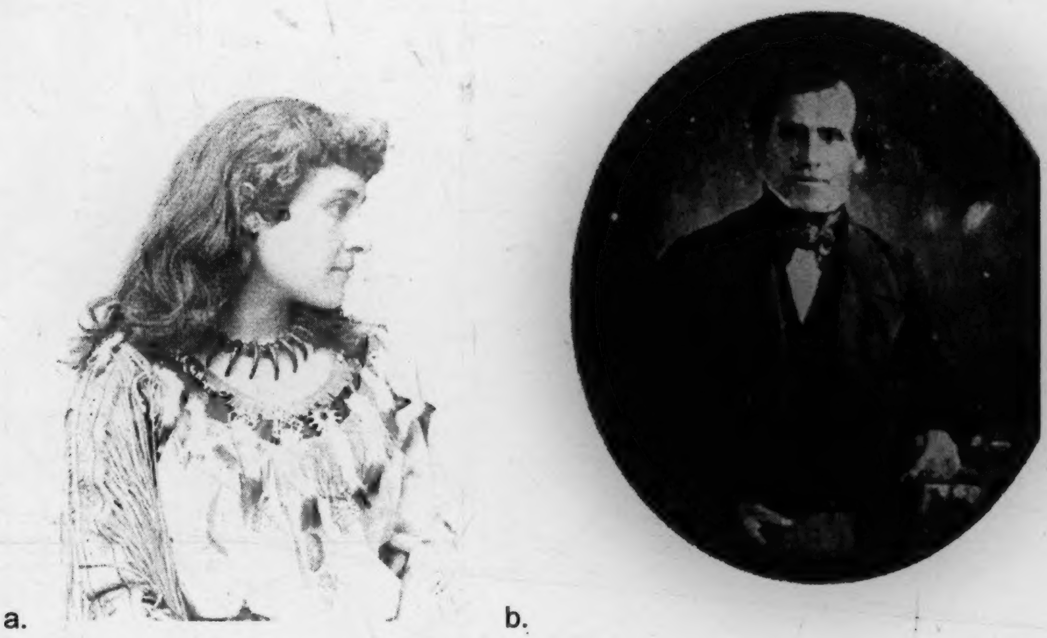


Figure 89

a: *Pauline Johnson / Tekahionwake,* c. 1895.

b: *George H.M. Johnson*, c. 1847.

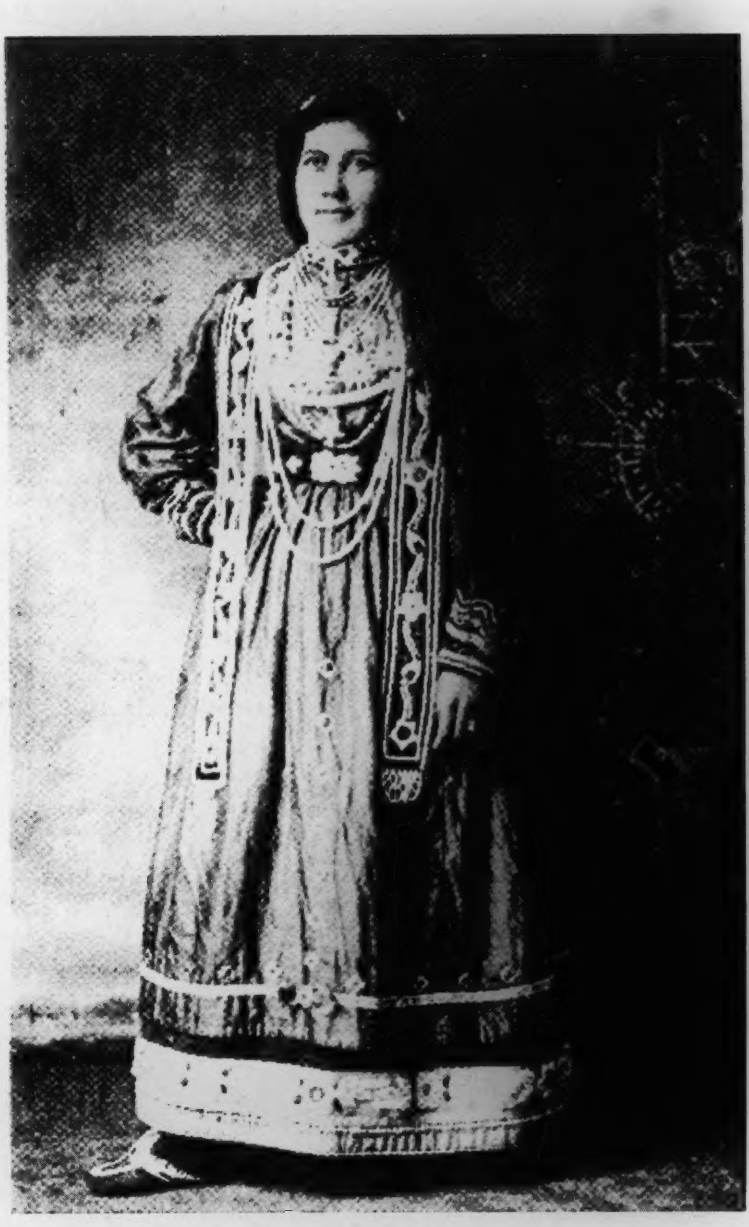


Figure 90

Seneca Woman, c. late 19th century, Buffalo, New York.

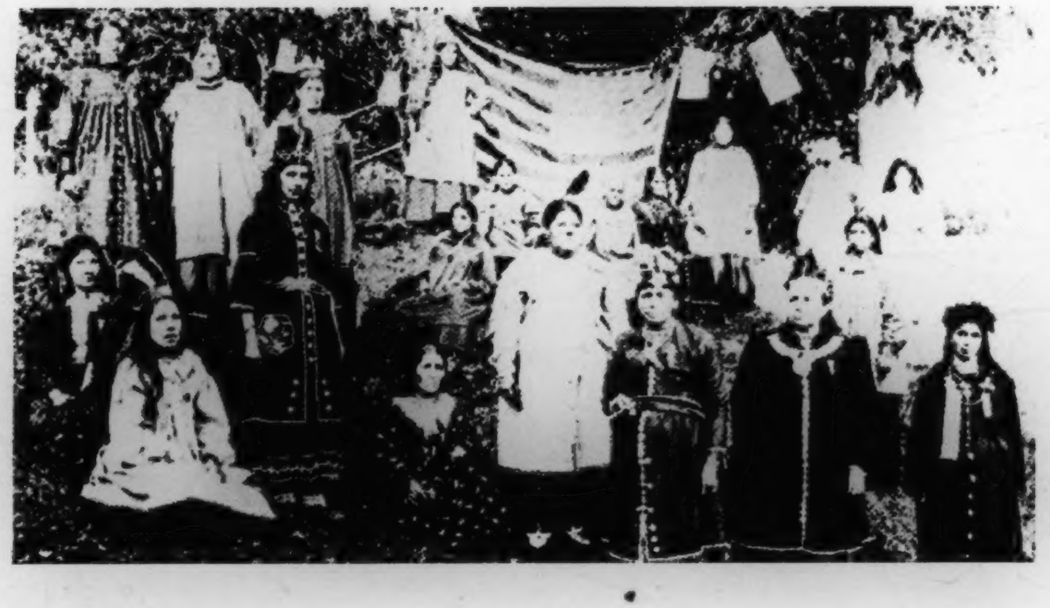


Figure 91

American Haudenosaunee women, c. 1890s to turn of the century.

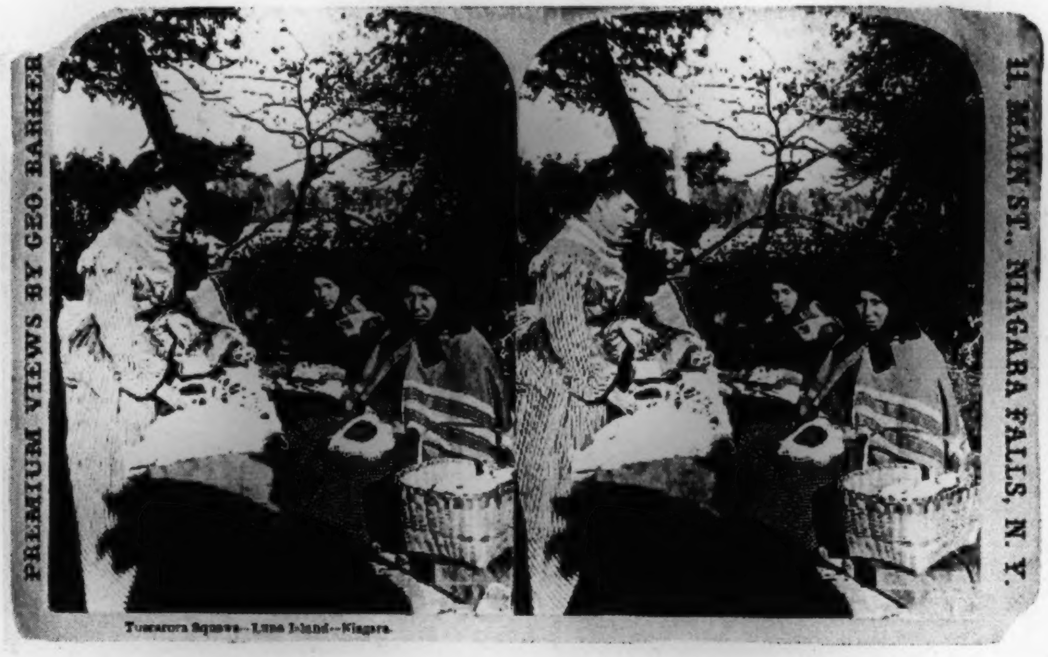
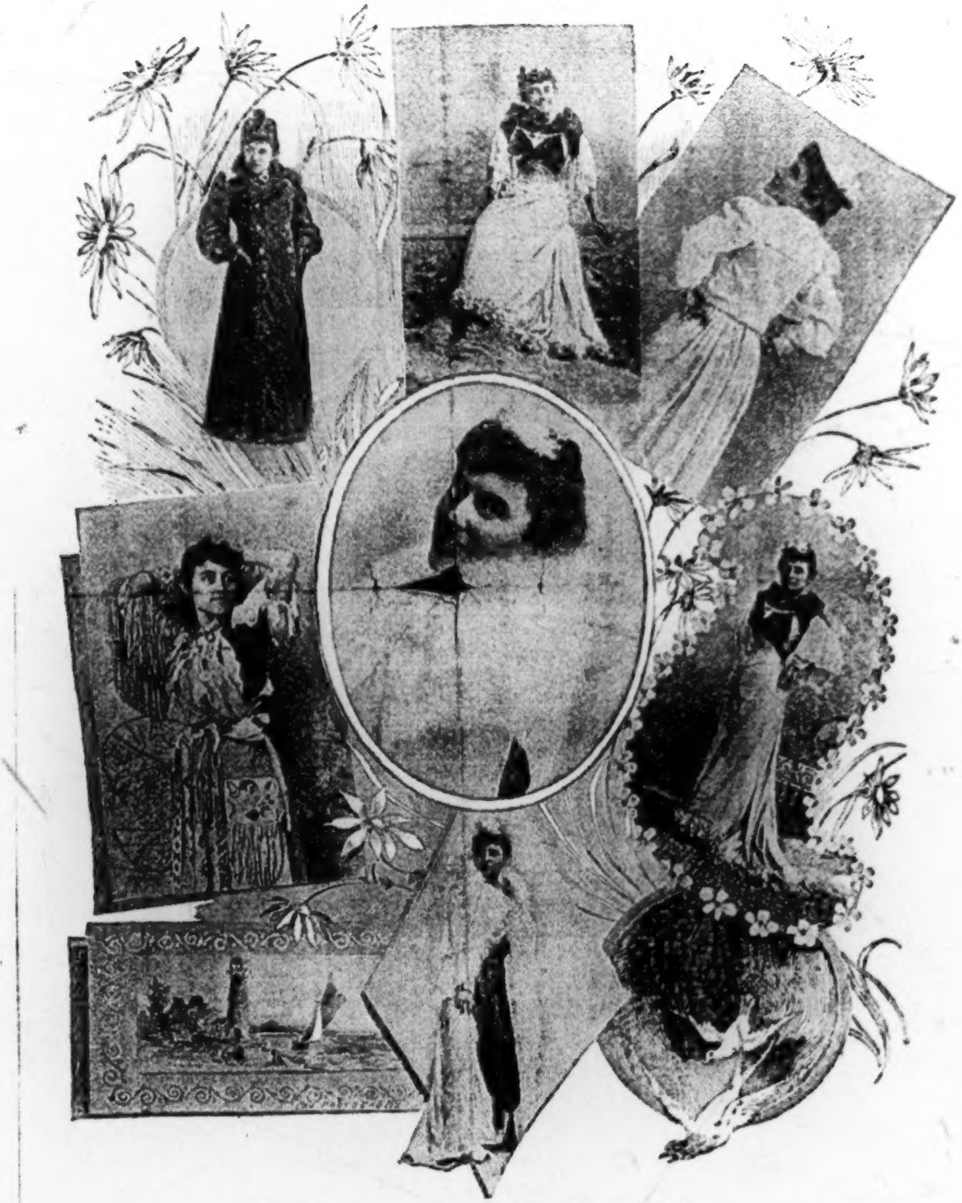

PREMIUM VIEWS BY GEO. BARKER
11, MAIN ST., NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.
Tuscarora Squaws--Luna Island--Niagara.

Figure 92

"Tuscarora Squaws – Luna Island – Niagara," 1865, stereoscopic card.



MISS E. PAULINE JOHNSON, THE INDIAN POET RECITER.

Figure 93

Johnson's multiple images, "Miss E. Pauline Johnson, The Indian Poet Reciter," *The Globe*, 23 September 1893.

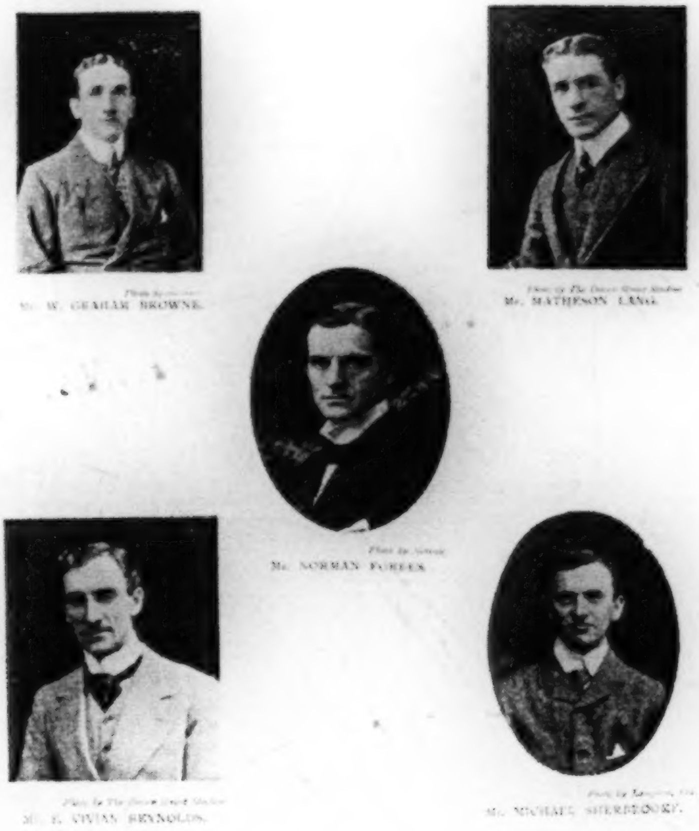
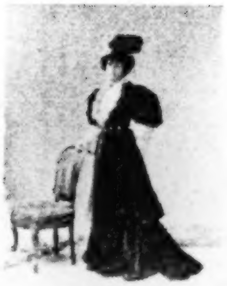

Mr. W. GRAHAM BROWNE.
Mr. MATHESON LANG.
Mr. NORMAN FORBES.
Mr. E. VIVIAN REYNOLDS.
Mr. MICHAEL SHERBROOKE.

Figure 94

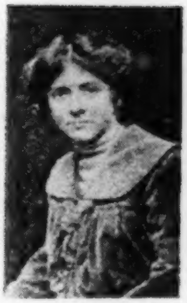
Page of actor portraits from a London theatre program, c. 1906.

[illegible]
Miss HENRIETTA WATSON.

[illegible]
Miss HELEN FERRERS.



Miss GWENDOLEN LLOYD.



[illegible]
Miss MAY MARTYN.

Figure 95

Page of actress portraits from London theatre program, c. 1906.

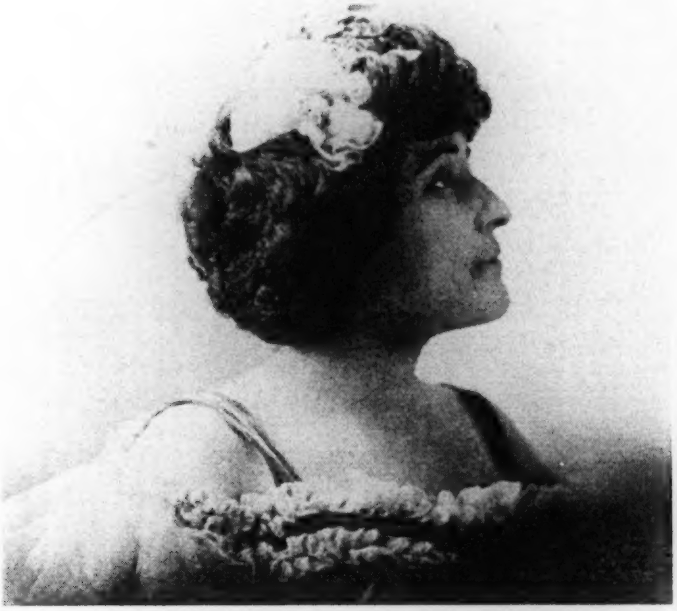
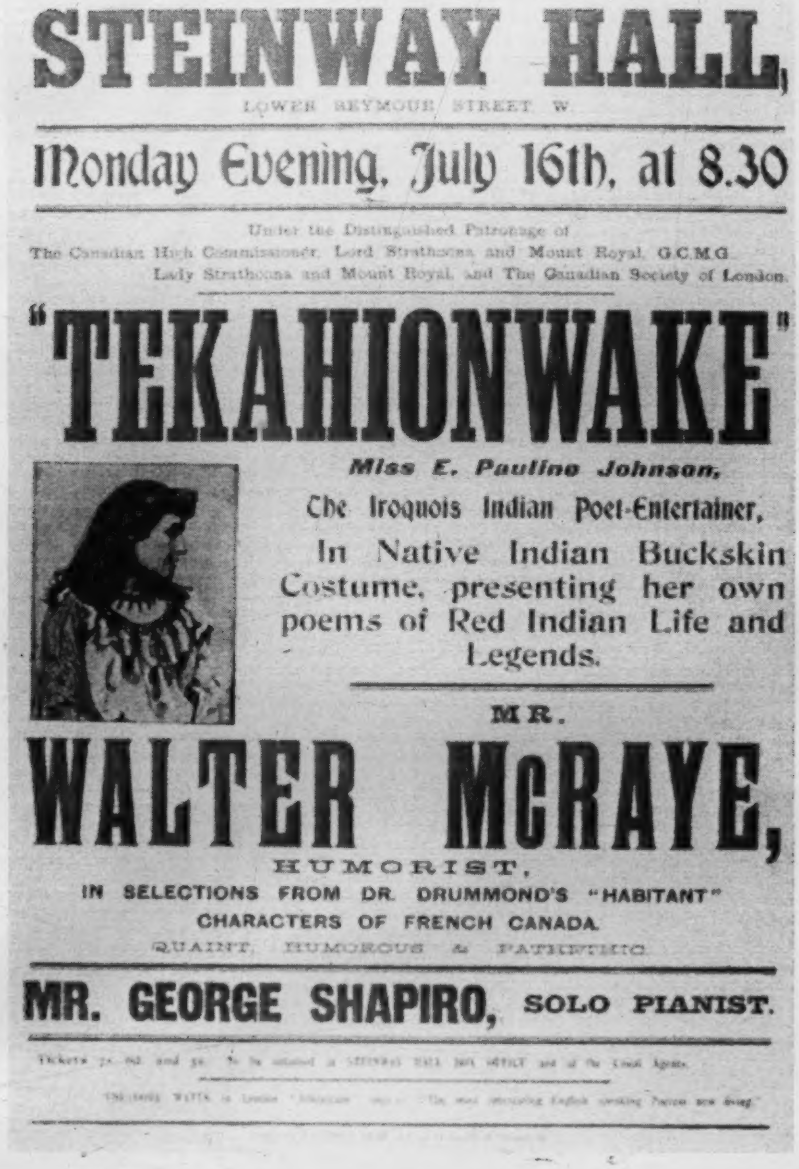


Figure 96

Johnson with either a wig, or her own short hair growing out after her 1901 illness, c. 1902-3.



STEINWAY HALL,

LOWER SEYMOUR STREET W.

Monday Evening, July 16th, at 8.30

Under the Distinguished Patronage of
The Canadian High Commissioner, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G.
Lady Strathcona and Mount Royal, and The Canadian Society of London.

"TEKAHIONWAKE"

Miss E. Pauline Johnson,

The Iroquois Indian Poet-Entertainer,

In Native Indian Buckskin Costume, presenting her own poems of Red Indian Life and Legends.

MR.

WALTER McRAYE,

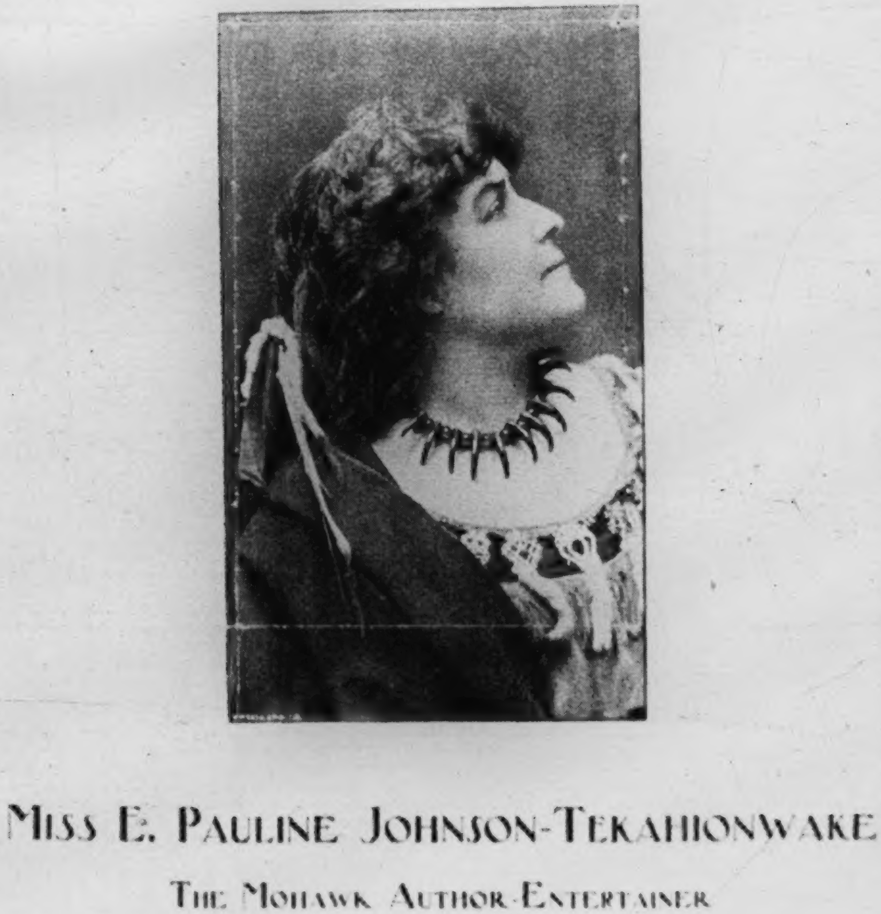
HUMORIST,

IN SELECTIONS FROM DR. DRUMMOND'S "HABITANT"
CHARACTERS OF FRENCH CANADA.
QUAINT, HUMOROUS & PATHETIC.

MR. GEORGE SHAPIRO, SOLO PIANIST.

Figure 97

Large lithograph advertising performance at Steinway Hall, 16 July 1906, London.



MISS E. PAULINE JOHNSON-TEKAHIONWAKE

THE MOHAWK AUTHOR-ENTERTAINER

Figure 98

"Miss E. Pauline Johnson-Tekahionwake: The Mohawk Author-Entertainer," advertising poster, c. 1906-1909.

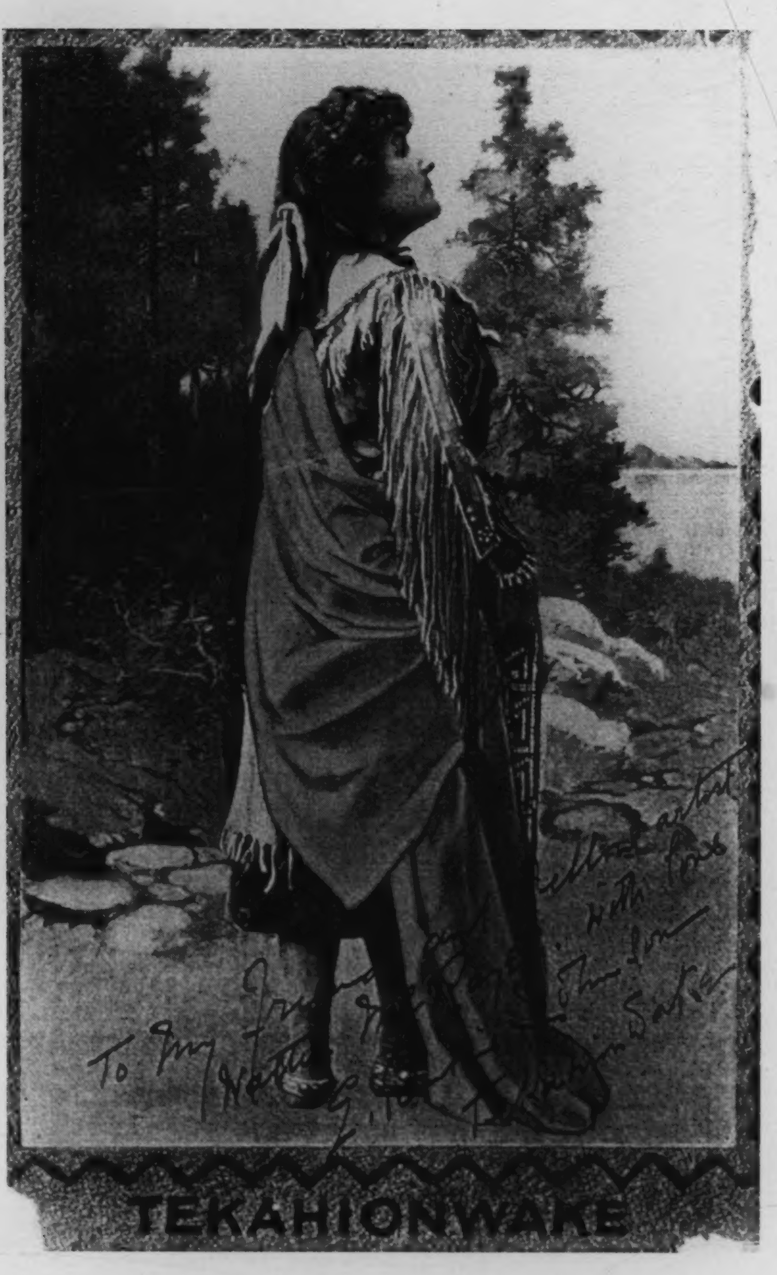

To my
with love
TEKAHIONWAKE

Figure 99

"Tekahionwake" with red blanket and holding a large wampum belt, inscribed to Johnson's last performing partner, Walter McRaye, photograph c. 1906-1909.

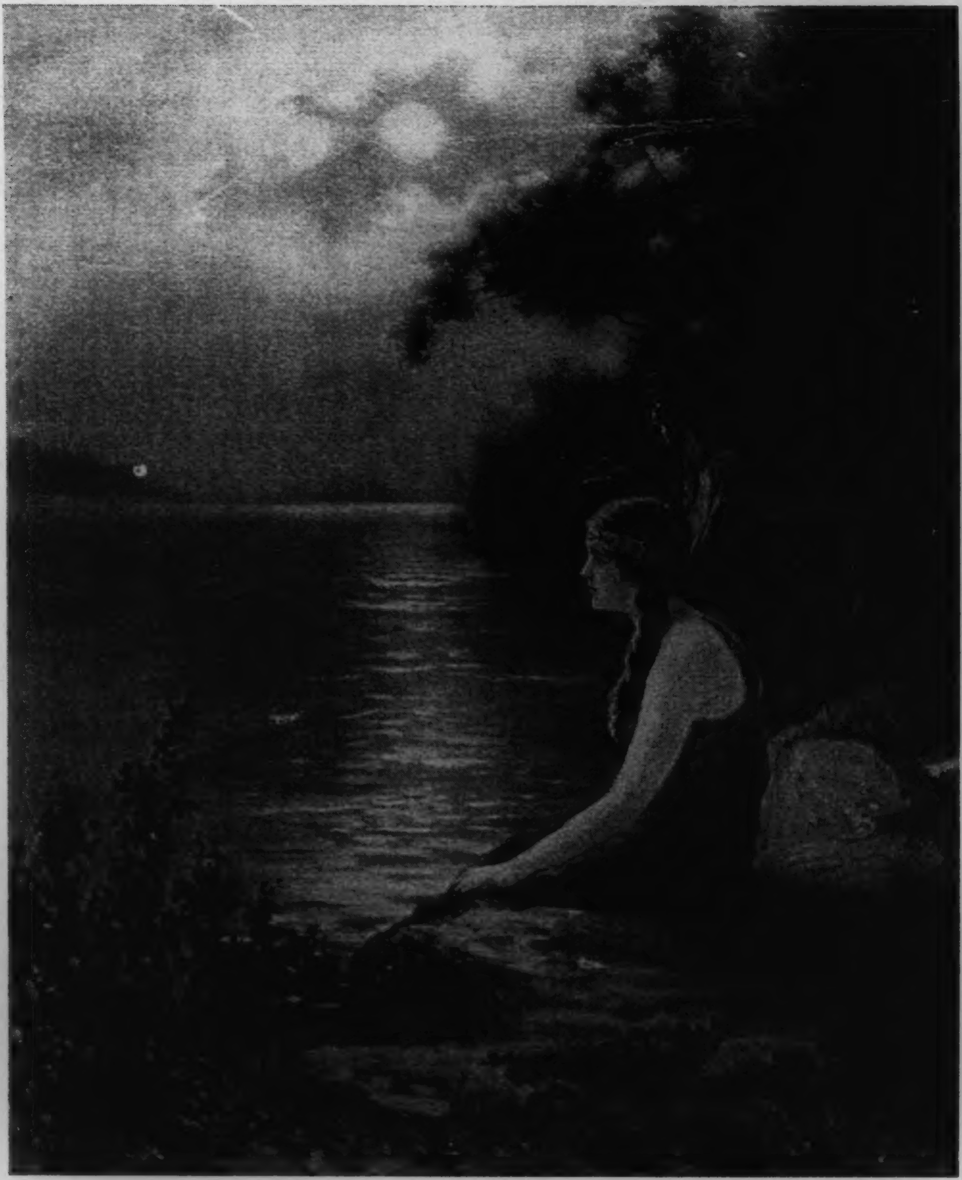
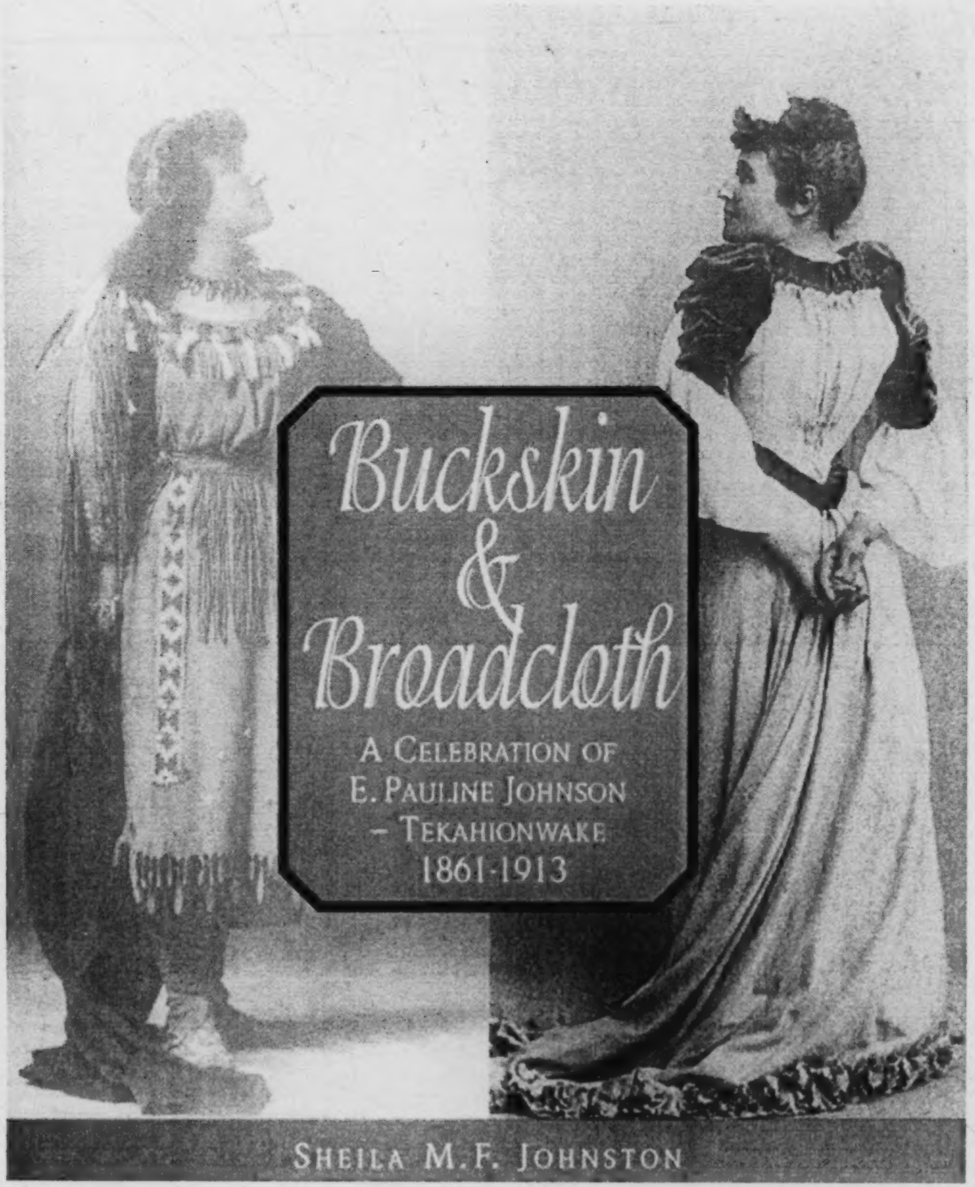


Figure 100

"Minnehaha" - red-tunic Indian maiden, print, c. 1920s.



Buckskin
&
Broadcloth

A CELEBRATION OF
E. PAULINE JOHNSON
– TEKAHIONWAKE
1861-1913

SHEILA M.F. JOHNSTON

Figure 101

Cover of *Buckskin and Broadcloth: A Celebration of E. Pauline Johnson – Tekahionwake* by Sheila Johnston, native-style portrait, c. 1902, portrait in evening wear, c. 1893.

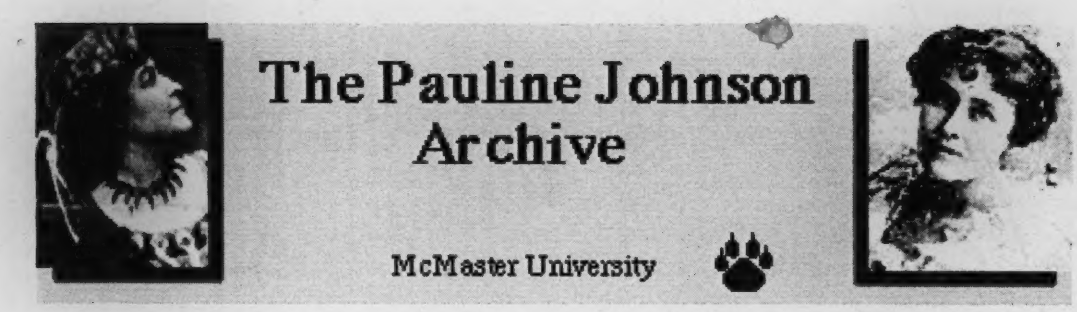

The Pauline Johnson Archive
McMaster University

Figure 102

Website banner for the online site "The Pauline Johnson Archive," 1996, McMaster University.

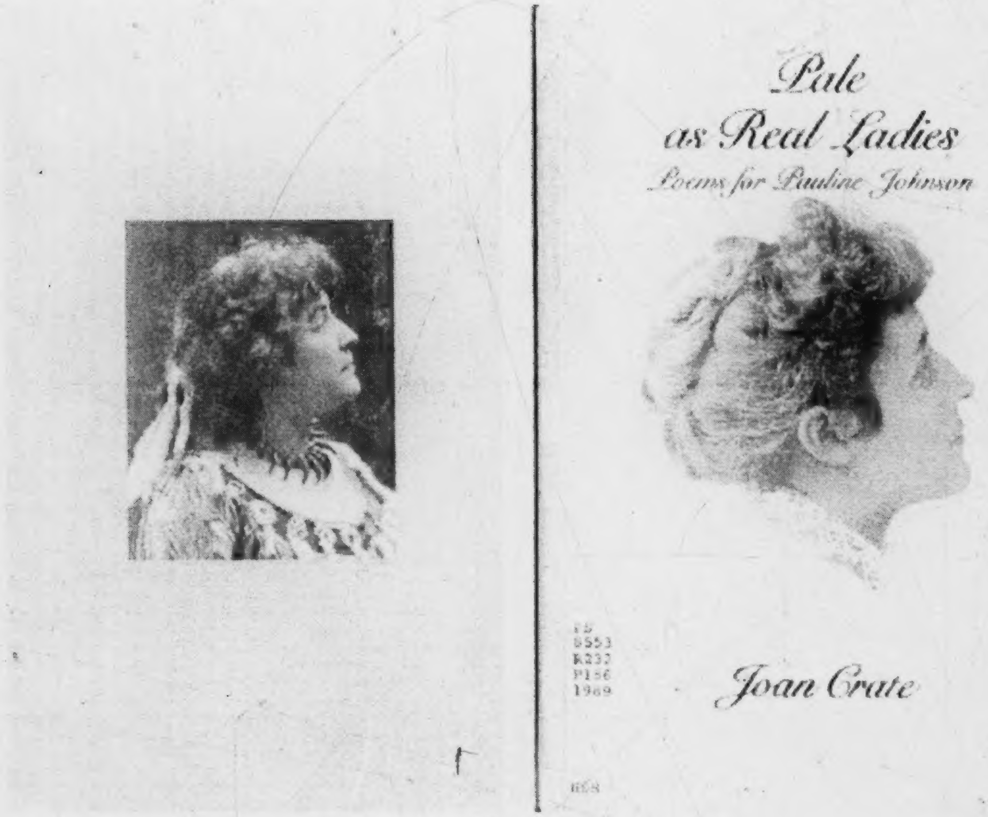

Pale
as Real Ladies
Poems for Pauline Johnson
Joan Crate

Figure 103

Full cover of "Pale As Real Ladies: Poems for Pauline Johnson," by Joan Crate, 1991.

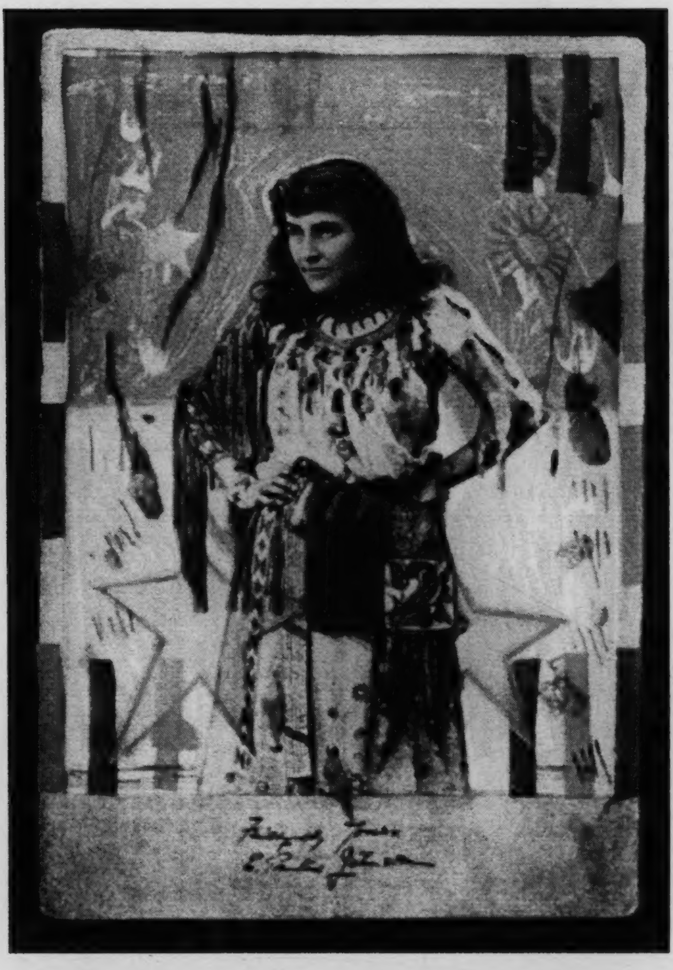


Figure 104

George Littlechild, *"Coup Stick Marks for Pauline,"* 1996, original photograph c. 1893.

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Clippings courtesy of the Trent University Archives, The Pauline Johnson Archive at the William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University Library, and the Brant County Museum and Archives.

APPENDIX ONE

Originally written during the Riel Rebellion, 'A Cry from an Indian Wife' was published in *The Week*, 18 June 1885. Reciting this poem at the Canadian Literature Evening in 1892 catapulted Johnson to fame. It became one of her most well-known recital pieces and a significant part of her public identity.

A Cry from an Indian Wife

My forest brave, my Red-skin love, farewell;
We may not meet tomorrow; who can tell
What mighty ills befall our little band,
Or what you'll suffer from the white man's hand?
Here is your knife! I thought 'twas sheathed for aye.
No roaming bison calls for it today;
No hide of prairie cattle will it maim;
The plains are bare, it seeks a nobler game:
'Twill drink the life-blood of a soldier host.
Go; rise and strike, no matter what the cost.
Yet stay. Revolt not at the Union Jack,
Nor raise Thy hand against this stipling pack
Of white-faced warriors, marching West to quell
Our fallen tribe that rises to rebel.
They all are young and beautiful and good;
Curse to the war that drinks their harmless blood.
Curse to the fate that brought them from the East
To be our chiefs--to make our nation least

That breathes the air of this vast continent.
Still their new rule and council is well meant.
They but forget we Indians owned the land
From ocean unto ocean; that they stand
Upon a soil that centuries agone
Was our sole kingdom and our right alone.
They never think how they would feel today,
If some great nation came from far away,
Wresting their country from their hapless braves,
Giving what they gave us--but wars and graves.
Then go and strike for liberty and life,
And bring back honour to your Indian wife.
Your wife? Ah, what of that, who cares for me?
Who pities my poor love and agony?
What white-robed priest prays for your safety here,
As prayer is said for every volunteer
That swells the ranks that Canada sends out?
Who prays for vict'ry for the Indian scout?
Who prays for our poor nation lying low?
None--therefore take your tomahawk and go.
My heart may break and burn into its core,
But I am strong to bid you go to war.
Yet stay, my heart is not the only one
That grieves the loss of husband and of son;
Think of the mothers o'er the inland seas;
Think of the pale-faced maiden on her knees;
One pleads her God to guard some sweet-faced child
That marches on toward the North-West wild.
The other prays to shield her love from harm,
To strengthen his young, proud uplifted arm.
Ah, how her white face quivers thus to think,

Your tomahawk his life's best blood will drink.
She never thinks of my wild aching breast,
Nor prays for your dark face and eagle crest
Endangered by a thousand rifle balls,
My heart the target if my warrior falls.
O! coward self I hesitate no more;*
Go forth, and win the glories of the war.
O! heart o'erfraught – O! nation lying low-
God, and fair Canada have willed it so.

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*Johnson revised the last few lines when the poem was published in the *White Wampum*.

O! coward self I hesitate no more;
Go forth, and win the glories of the war.
Go forth, nor bend to greed of white men's hands,
By right, by birth we Indians own these lands,
Though starved, crushed, plundered, lies our nation low . . .
Perhaps the white man's God has willed it so.

APPENDIX TWO

Taken from the Toronto *Sunday Globe*, 22 May 1892. In their new anthology of Johnson's writing, Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag point out that the newspaper may have titled the article rather than Johnson.

A Strong Race Opinion: On the Indian Girl in Modern Fiction

E. Pauline Johnson of the Iroquois Makes Some Remarks--The One Distressful Type--Winona--Her Suicidal Tendency--Mair's "Tecumseh"--"The Algonquin Maiden"--A Chance for Writers.

Every race in the world enjoys its own peculiar characteristics, but it scarcely follows that every individual of a nation must possess these prescribed singularities, or otherwise forfeit in the eyes of the world their nationality. Individual personality is one of the most charming things to be met with, either in the flesh and blood existence, or upon the pages of fiction, and it matters little to what race an author's heroine belongs, if he makes her character distinct, unique and natural.

The American book heroine of today is vari-coloured as to personality and action. The author does not consider it necessary to the development of her character, and the plot of the story to insist upon her having American-coloured eyes, an American carriage, an American voice, American motives, and an American mode of dying; he allows her to evolve an individuality ungoverned by nationalisms - but the outcome of impulse and nature and a general womanishness.

Not so the Indian girl in modern fiction, the author permits her character no such spontaneity, she must not be one of womankind at large, neither must she have an originality, a singularity that is not definitely "Indian." I quote "Indian" as there seems to be an impression amongst authors that such a thing as tribal distinction does not exist amongst the North American aborigines.

Tribal Distinctions.

The term "Indians" signifies about as much as the term "European," but I cannot recall ever having read a story where the heroine was described as "a European." The Indian girl we meet in cold type, however, is rarely distressed by having to belong to any tribe, or to reflect any tribal characteristics. She is merely a wholesale sort of admixture of any band existing between the Mic Macs of Gaspe and the Kwaw-Kewiths of British Columbia, yet strange to say, that notwithstanding the numerous tribes, with their aggregate numbers reaching nore than 122,000 souls in Canada alone, our Canadian authors can cull from this huge revenue of character, but one Indian girl, and stranger still that this lonely little heroine never had a prototype in breathing flesh-and-blood existence!

It is a deplorable fact, but there is only one of her. The story-writer who can create a new kind of Indian girl, or better still portray a "real live" Indian girl will do something in Canadian literature that has never been done, but once. The general author gives the reader the impression that he has concocted the plot, created his characters, arranged his action, and at the last moment has been seized with the idea that the regulation Indian maiden will make a very harmonious background whereon to paint his pen picture that he, never having, met this interesting individual, stretches forth his hand to his library shelves, grasps the first Canadian novelist he sees, reads up his subject, and duplicates it in his own work.

After a half dozen writers have done this, the reader might as well leave the tale unread as far as the interest touches upon the Indian character, for an unvarying experience tells him that this convenient personage will repeat herself with monotonous accuracy. He knows what she did and how she died in other romances by other romancers, and she will do and die likewise in this, (she always does die, and one feels relieved that it is so, for she is too unhealthy and too unnatural to live).

The Inevitable "Winona."

The rendition of herself and her doings gains no variety in the pens of manifold authors, and the last thing that they will ever think of will be to study "The Indian Girl" from life, for the being we read of is the offspring of the writer's imagination and never existed outside the book covers that her name decorates. Yes, there is only one of her, and her name is "Winona." Once or twice she has borne another appellation, but it always has a "Winona" sound about it. Even Charles Mair, in that masterpiece of Canadian-Indian romances, "Tecumseh," could not resist "Winona." We meet her as a Shawnee, as a Sioux, as a Huron, and then, her tribe unnamed, in the vicinity of Brockville.

She is never dignified by being permitted to own a surname, although, extraordinary to note, her father is always a chief, and, had he ever existed, would doubtless have been as conservative as his contemporaries about the usual significance that his people attach to family name and lineage.

In addition to this most glaring error this surnameless creation is possessed with a suicidal mania. Her unhappy, self-sacrificing life becomes such a burden, both to herself and the author that this is the only means by which they can extricate themselves from a lamentable tangle, though, as a matter of fact suicide is an evil positively unknown among Indians. Today there may be rare instances where a man crazed by liquor might destroy his own life, but in the periods from whence "Winona's" character is sketched self-destruction was unheard of. This seems to be a fallacy which the best American writers have fallen a prey to. Even Helen Hunt Jackson, in her powerful and beautiful romance of "Ramona," has weakened her work deplorably by having no less than three Indians suicide while maddened by their national wrongs and personal grief.

To Be Crossed in Love Her Lot

But the hardest fortune that the Indian girl in fiction meets with is the inevitable doom that shadows her love affairs. She is always desperately in love with the young white hero, who in turn is grateful to her for services rendered the garrison in general and himself in particular during red days of war. In short, she is so much wrapped up in him that she is treacherous to her own people, tells falsehoods to her father and the other chiefs of her tribe, and otherwise makes herself detestable and dishonourable. Of course, this white hero never marries her! Will some critic who understands human nature, and particularly the nature of authors, please tell the reading public why marriage with the Indian girl is so despised in books and so general in real life! Will this good far-seeing critic also tell us why the book-made Indian makes all the love advances to the white gentleman, though the real wild Indian girl (by the way, we are never given any stories of educated girls, though there are many such throughout Canada) is the most retiring, reticent, non-commital being in existence!

Captain [John] Richardson, in that inimitable novel, "Wacousta," scarcely goes as far in this particular as his followers. To be sure he has his Indian heroine madly in love with young de Haldimar, a passion which it goes without saying he does not reciprocate, but which he plays upon to the extent of making her a traitor to Pontiac inasmuch as she betrays the secret of one of the cleverest intrigues of war known in the history of America, namely, the scheme to capture Fort Detroit through the means of an exhibition game of lacrosse. In addition to this de Haldimar makes a cat's paw of the girl, using her as a means of communication between his fiancee and himself, and so the excellent author permits his Indian girl to get herself despised by her own nation and disliked by the reader. Unnecessary to state, that as usual the gallant white marries his fair lady, who the poor little red girl has assisted hero to recover.

G. Mercer Adam's Algonquin Maiden

Then comes another era in Canadian-Indian fiction, wherein G. Mercer Adam and A. Ethelwyn Wetherald have given us the semi-historic novel, "An Algonquin Maiden." The former's masterly touch can be recognized on every page he has written; but the outcome of the combined pens is the same old story. We find "Wanda" violently in love with Edward MacLeod; she makes all the overtures, conducts herself disgracefully, assists him to a reunion with his fair-skinned love, Helene; then betakes herself to a boat, rows out into the lake in a thunderstorm, chants her own death-song, and is drowned.

But notwithstanding all this, the authors have given us something exceedingly unique and novel as regards their red heroine. They have sketched us a wild Indian girl who kisses. They, however, forgot to tell us where she learned this pleasant fashion of emotional expression; though two such prominent authors who have given so much time to the study of Indian customs and character, most certainly have noticed the entire ignorance of kissing that is universal among the Aborigines.

A wild Indian never kisses; mothers never kiss their children even, nor lovers their sweethearts, husbands their wives. It is something absolutely unknown, unpractised.

But "Wanda" was one of the few book Indian girls who had an individuality and was not hampered with being obliged to continually be national first and natural afterwards. No, she was not national; she did things and said things about as un-Indian like as Bret Harte's "M'liss;" in fact, her action generally resembles "M'liss" more than anything else; for "Wanda's" character has the peculiarity of being created more by the dramatis personae in the play than by the authors themselves. For example: Helene speaks of her as a "low, untutored savage," and Rose is guilty of remarking that she is "a coarse, ignorant woman, whom you cannot admire, whom it would be impossible for you to respect;" and these comments are both sadly truthful, one cannot love or admire a heroine that grubs in the mud like a turtle, climbs trees like a raccoon, and tears and soils her gowns like a mad woman.

The "Beautiful Little Brute."

Then the young hero describes her upon two occasions as a "beautiful little brute." Poor little Wanda! Not only is she nondescript and ill starred, but as usual the authors take away her love, her life, and last and most terrible of all, her reputation; for they permit a crowd of men--friends of the hero to call her a "squaw," and neither hero nor authors deny that she is a "squaw." It is almost too sad when so much prejudice exists against the Indians, that any one should write up an Indian heroine with such glaring accusations against her virtue, and no contradictory statements either from writer, hero or circumstance, "Wanda" had without doubt the saddest, unsunniest, unequal life over given to Canadian readers.

Jessie M. Freeland has written a pretty tale published in The Week; it is called "Winona's Tryst," but oh! Grim fatality here again our Indian girl duplicates her former self. "Winona" is the unhappy victim of violent love for Hugh Gordon, which he does not appreciate or return. She assists him, serves him, saves him in the usual "dumb animal" style of book Indians. She manages by self abnegation, danger, and many heart-aches to restore him to the arms of Rose McTavish, who of course he has loved and longed for all through the story. Then "Winona" secures the tiem honoured canoe paddles out into the lake and drowns herself.

But Miss Freeland closes this pathetic little story with one of the simplest, truest, strongest paragraphs that a Canadian pen has ever written, it is the salvation of the, otherwise threadbare development of plot. Hugh Gordon speaks, "I solemnly pledge myself in memory of Winona to do something to help her unfortunate nation. The rightful owners of the soil, dispossessed and driven back inch by inch over their native prairies by their French and English conquerors; and he kept his word."

Mair's Drama "Tecumseh"

Charles Mair has enriched Canadian-Indian literature perhaps more than any of our authors, in his magnificent drama, "Tecumseh." The character of the grand old chief himself is most powerfully and accurately, drawn. Mair has not fallen into that unattractive fashion of making his Indians "assent with a grunt" - or look with "eyes of dog-like fidelity" or to appear "very grave very dignified, and not very immaculately clean." Mair avoids the usual commonplaces used in describing Indians by those who have never met or mixed with them. His drama bears upon every page evidence of long study and life with the people whom he has written of so carefully, so truthfully.

As for his heroine, what portrayal of Indian character has ever been more faithful than that of "Iena." Oh! Happy inspiration vouchsafed the author of "Tecumseh" he has invented a novelty in fiction--a white man who deserves, wins and reciprocates the Indian maiden's love--who says, as she dies on his bosom, while the bullet meant for him stills and tears her heart.

"Silent forever! Oh! My girl! My girl!
Those rich eyes melt; those lips are sunwarm still--
They look like life, yet have no semblant voice.
Millions of creatures throng and multitudes
Of heartless beings, flaunt upon the earth,
There's room enough for them, but thou, dull fate--
Thou cold and partial tender of life's field,
That pluck'st the flower, and leav'st the weed to thrive--
Thou had'st not room for her! Oh, I must seek
A way out of the rack--I need not live, but she is dead--
And love is left upon the earth to starve,

My object's gone, and I am but a shell,
A husk, an empty case, or anything what may be kicked about the world."

After perusing this refreshing white-Indian drama the reader has but one regret, that Mair did not let "Iena" live. She is the one "book" Indian girl that has Indian life, Indian character, Indian beauty, but the inevitable doom of death could not be stayed even by Mair's sensitive Indian-loving pen. No, the Indian girl must die, and with the exception of "Iena" her heart's blood must stain every page of fiction whereon she appears. One learns to love Lefroy, the poet painter; he never abuses by coarse language and derisive epithets his little Indian love, "Iena" accepts delicately and sweetly his overtures, Lefroy prizes nobly and honourably her devotion. Oh! Lefroy, where is your fellowman in fiction? "Iena," where your prototype? Alas, for all the other pale-faced lovers, they are indifferent, almost brutal creations, and as for the red skin girls that love them, they are all fawn eyed, unnatural, unmaidenlly idiots and both are merely imaginary make-shifts to help out romances, that would be immeasurably improved by their absence.

A Chance for Canadian Writers

Perhaps, sometimes an Indian romance may be written by someone who will be clever enough to portray national character without ever having come in contact with it. Such things have been done, for are we not told that Tom Moore had never set foot in Persia before he wrote Lalla Rookh? And those who best know what they affirm declare that remarkable poem as a faithful and accurate delineation of Oriental scenery, life and character. But such things are rare, half of our authors who write up Indian stuff have never been on an Indian reserve in their lives, have never met a "real live" Redman, have never even read Parkman, Schoolcraft or Catten; what wonder that their conception of a people they are ignorant of, save by hearsay, is dwarfed, erroneous and delusive.

And here follows the thought - do authors who write Indian romances love the nation they endeavour successfully or unsuccessfully to describe? Do they, like

Tecumseh, say, "And I, who love your nation, which is just, when deeds deserve it," or is the Indian introduced into literature but to lend a dash of vivid colouring to an otherwise tame and somber picture of colonial life: it looks suspiciously like the latter reason, or why should the Indian always get beaten in the battles of romance, or the Indian girl get inevitably the cold shoulder in the wars of love?

Surely the Redman has lost enough, has suffered enough without additional losses and sorrows being heaped upon him in romance. There are many combats he has won in history from the extinction of the Jesuit Fathers at Lake Simcoe to Cut Knife Creek. There are many girls who have placed dainty red feet figuratively upon the white man's neck from the days of Pocahontas to those of little "Bright Eyes," who captured all Washington a few seasons ago. Let us not only hear, but read something of the North American Indian "besting" some one at least once in a decade, and above all things let the Indian girl of fiction develop from the "doglike," "fawnlike," "deerfooted," "fire-eyed," "crouching," "submissive" book heroine into something of the quiet, sweet womanly woman she is, if wild, or the everyday, natural, laughing girl she is, if cultivated and educated, let her be **natural*, even if the author is not competent to give her tribal characteristics.

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* The original publication of the Globe contained typesetting errors. The word 'natural' was missing and the word '[italics],' signifying the intended text style, appeared instead. In Johnson's personal clipping from the newspaper (located in the McMaster archives) she crossed out this error and handwrote in the correct word.